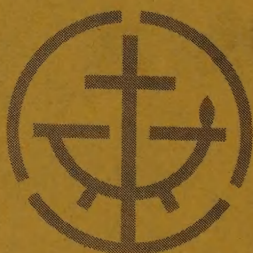


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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF LINCOLN

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND

VOLUME

LONDON

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY

OF
THE POPES OF ROME

DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH
CENTURIES.

BY LEOPOLD ^{Von} RANKE,
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

1795-
1886.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY SARAH AUSTIN.

SECOND EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE reputation of the following work is so well established throughout Europe, and its character and merits have been so ably exhibited to the English public*, that it would be more than superfluous to insist on them here.

It is therefore only needful that I should say a few words on the version of it now offered to the public. The gravity and importance of the subject, the undiminished interest which it excites, and the conspicuous good faith and impartiality with which it has been considered and treated by the author, seems to demand some explanation of the views by which I have been guided in the execution of my task. I undertook it not without an earnest sense of the responsibility of rendering into English a history of that great divergence of religious opinions, which has so long occupied the attention and inflamed the passions of Europe, and my anxiety to acquit myself of

* See the articles in the Quarterly Review, Nos. cx. and cxvi.

it faithfully was greatly increased by the bad faith of a French translation which appeared in 1838. It is impossible not to be struck with surprise and mortification that, in this age of the world, any man should be found so blinded by antipathy as not to perceive how much both catholics and protestants have suffered by misrepresentation ; how much both have to gain by truth ; how much, therefore, both are interested in preserving the integrity of a history, to which both may appeal from prejudice and calumny.

Independently of the obligation to truth and fairness which this consideration imposed upon the French translator, he was bound by the duties generally imperative on those who undertake to convey to one nation the thoughts which are embodied in the language of another. " Every translator," says Goethe, " ought to regard himself as a broker in the great intellectual traffic of the world, and to consider it his business to promote the barter of the produce of mind. For whatever people may say of the inadequacy of translation, it is, and must ever be, one of the most important and dignified occupations in the great commerce of the human race." *

* I give the whole passage for the German reader.

" Wer die deutsche Sprache versteht und studiert, befindet sich auf dem Markte wo alle Nationen ihre Waaren anbieten ; er spielt den Dolmetscher, indem er sich selbst bereichert.

" Und so ist jeder Übersetzer anzusehen dass er sich als

But besides these duties towards the public, every translator is bound to fidelity by a duty which he owes to his author; for if there be any thing which may be truly called a man's own, it is surely the sum of his opinions on a most momentous and difficult subject, arrived at by years of patient toil and mature reflection, weighed with consummate impartiality, and enounced with historical calmness.

Unfortunately, however, such is the tendency to postpone the real and permanent interest which all men have in truth and charity, and the most sacred rights of individuals, to the pursuit of some momentary and illusory party advantage, that the French translation is not only full of particular inaccuracies arising from ignorance or carelessness, but is infected with the sectarian spirit from which the original is so remarkably and so laudably exempt.

Professor Ranke, not without reason, regards his reputation for impartiality, and (what to such a writer is far more important) the effect of his

Vermittler dieses allgemein geistigen Handels bemüht und den Wechseltausch zu befördern sich zum Geschäft macht. Denn was man auch von der Unzulänglichkeit des Übersetzens sagen mag, so ist und bleibt es doch eines der wichtigsten und würdigsten Geschäfte in dem allgemeinen Weltverkehr.

“Der Koran sagt, ‘Gott hat jedem Volke einen Propheten gegeben in seiner eigenen Sprache.’ So ist jeder Übersetzer ein Prophet in seinem Volke.” — *Goethe, Kunst und Alterthum.*

book on the public mind, as seriously endangered by the appearance of the French version.

Accordingly, when I announced to him my intention of translating his work, and my wish to attend to any suggestions he might have to make, I received an answer containing the following words.

“ My book needs to be set right in the eyes of all but German readers, after the unconscientious treatment it has received at the hands of a catholicising French translator. I look to England to redress the wrong done to me in France.” *

I have endeavoured to render the original with scrupulous fidelity, at the risk of occasionally sacrificing facility of expression to this paramount object, and to my desire of counteracting (as far as it rested with me to do so) the effect of this great offence against the author and against truth. The English reader will perhaps accept such a guarantee as Professor Ranke's opinion may afford, that I have not wholly failed in my purpose. In a letter acknowledging the receipt of the sheets (which have been regularly transmitted to him) he expresses himself fully satisfied with the “ care and conscientiousness ” of the translation. †

* “ Für das ausserdeutsche Publicum bedarf es ohnehin, nach der gewissenlosen Behandlung durch einen katholisirenden französischen Übersetzer, einer Rehabilitation ; eine englische Frau wird das Unrecht wieder gut machen das mir in Frankreich begegnet ist.”

† “ Wo ich immer aufschlage finde ich Sorgfalt und Gewissenhaftigkeit, und fühle mich höchlich befriedigt.”

I have translated from the Second Edition, which contains some additions, especially in the third volume. The First Edition was published at Berlin in 1835-6 ; the Second Edition of the first volume, in 1838 ; the Second Edition of the third volume, not till the end of 1839, which caused some delay in the completion of this translation.

The title does not appear to me to represent accurately the subject of the book, which is not so much a history of the popes, as a history of the great struggle between catholicism and protestantism, between authority and innovation, in which the popes were indeed actors, but generally rather as the servants than the rulers of events.

The chief interest of the work lies in the solution it affords of the greatest problem of modern history. It is impossible to contemplate the rapid and apparently resistless progress of the Reformation in its infancy, without wondering what was the power which arrested and forced back the torrent, and reconquered to the ancient faith countries in which protestantism seemed firmly established.

The ebb and flow of this mighty wave are traced with singular vividness as well as accuracy in the following pages.

In them will also be seen how many of the elements of protestantism lived and moved in the bosom of the catholic church ; —and, on the other hand, how many of the institutions, and how much

of the spirit, of the ancient church have adhered to some forms of protestantism.

Nor is the connexion between the aspirations of man after the beautiful, and those after the good and the eternal, forgotten. In the 16th century, as in the 14th, the Church appears as the inspirer and the patron of Art.

We are likewise struck by several examples of those great oscillations of the human mind, of which each succeeding generation is the unconscious witness, though each appears to regard its own mental condition with an exclusiveness and intolerance little befitting a creature so changeful, and so dependent on circumstances for his opinions, as man. A period of laxity in religion and morals is as invariably succeeded by one of rigour and asceticism, as that again is sure to engender an impatience of restraint, an inordinate craving for indulgence, and a coldness, not to say aversion, to the exercises of devotion.

It is not within the humble province of a translator to insist on the lessons of moderation to be drawn from such views of the invariable laws which govern the moral world. Those lessons will best be learned by an attentive consideration of the facts presented to our view in the following work.

S. A.

London, April, 1840.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE power of Rome in the early and middle ages of the Christian Church is known to the world, and modern times have beheld her resume her sway with somewhat like the vigour of renovated youth. After the decline of her influence in the former half of the sixteenth century, she once more rose to be the centre of the faith and the opinions of the nations of Southern Europe, and made bold, and not unfrequently successful, attempts to bring those of the north again under her dominion.

This period of the revived temporal power of the church, her renovation and internal reform, her progress and her decline, it is my purpose to exhibit, at least in outline ; an undertaking which I should not have ventured even to attempt, had not opportunity presented to me some materials and aids towards its accomplishment (however defective that may be) hitherto unknown.

It is my first duty to indicate the general character of these materials, and the sources whence they are derived.

I had already, in a former work, given to the

public whatever our Berlin MSS. contain. But Vienna is incalculably richer than Berlin in treasures of this kind.

Besides the German, which is its chief and fundamental ingredient, Vienna possesses another European element: manners and languages the most various meet in every class, from the highest to the lowest, and Italy especially has her living and full representation. The various collections too have a comprehensive character, which may be ascribed to the policy of the state; to its position with regard to other countries; to its ancient alliance with Spain, Belgium, and Lombardy, and its intimate connexion, both from proximity and from faith, with Rome. From the earliest times, the taste for acquiring and possessing such records has prevailed at Vienna. Hence even the original and purely national collections of the imperial library are of great value. In later times some foreign collections have been added. From Modena a number of volumes, similar to the Berlin 'Informazioni,' have been purchased of the house of Rangone; from Venice, the inestimable manuscripts of the Doge Marco Foscarini, and among them his own labours preparatory to the continuation of his Italian Chronicles, of which not a trace is any where else to be found. Prince Eugene left a rich collection of historical and political MSS., formed with the enlarged views which might be expected from that accomplished

statesman. It is impossible to read through the catalogues without emotions of pleasure and hope. So many unexplored sources whence the deficiencies of most printed works on modern history may be corrected and repaired!—a whole futurity of study! And yet, at the distance of but a few steps, Vienna offers still more valuable materials. The imperial archives contain, as we might anticipate, the most important and authentic documents illustrative of German and of general history, and peculiarly so of that of Italy. It is true that by far the greater part of the Venetian archives are restored, after long wanderings, to Venice; but a considerable mass of papers belonging to the republic are still to be found in Vienna; despatches, original or copied; extracts from them, made for the use of government, called rubricaries; reports, often the only copies in existence, and of great value; official registers of the government functionaries; chronicles and journals. The details which will be found in this work concerning Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. are, for the most part, drawn from the archives of Vienna. I cannot adequately express my sense of the boundless liberality with which access to these treasures was granted to me.

And here I ought to enumerate the many helps towards the execution of my project which I have received, both abroad and at home. But I feel, I know not whether with reason or not, some hesi-

tation in doing so. I should have to mention a great many names,—some of them very eminent : my gratitude would appear vaunting, and would give to a work which has every reason to present itself with a modest front, an air of ostentation which might ill become it.

After Vienna, my attention was chiefly directed to Venice and Rome.

It was an almost universal custom among the great houses of Venice to have a cabinet of manuscripts attached to their library. These of course chiefly related to the affairs of the republic, and represented the share which the particular family had taken in public business : they were carefully preserved, as memorials of the history and importance of the house, for the instruction of its younger members. A few of these private collections are still remaining, and were accessible to me ; but a far greater number perished in the general ruin of the year 1797, and subsequently. If more has been saved out of the wreck than might be imagined, the world owes it chiefly to the librarians of St. Mark, who exerted the utmost powers of their institution to effect that object. The library of St. Mark contains a valuable store of manuscripts which are indispensable to the domestic history of the city or republic, and important even to that of their relations with Europe. But too much must not be expected from it. It is almost a new acquisition, casually formed of private collections, without com-

pleteness or uniform plan. It is not to be compared with the treasures of the state archives in their present condition and arrangement. In my inquiry into the conspiracy of 1618, I have already described the Venetian archives, and shall not repeat what I there said. The documents most appropriate to my Roman objects were, the Reports of the ambassadors on their return from Rome. I should have been extremely glad however to be able to have recourse to other collections, since none are free from deficiencies, and these archives have sustained many losses in the course of their various wanderings. I collected, in all, forty-eight Reports on Rome,—the earliest of them of the year 1500 ; nineteen of the sixteenth, twenty-one of the seventeenth century, forming an almost unbroken series ; of the eighteenth century only eight, but these too, very instructive and valuable. In by far the greater number of cases, I saw and used the originals. They contain a great many interesting facts which were stated on personal observation, and have passed away with the lives of the contemporaneous generation. These first gave me the idea of a continuous narrative, and the courage to attempt it.

In Rome alone, it is needless to say, could the means of authenticating and of amplifying these materials be found. But was it to be expected that a foreigner and a heretic would there be allowed free access to the public collections,—would

be enabled to reveal all the secrets of the papacy? It would not perhaps have been such bad policy as it appears; since no investigation can bring to light any thing worse than the assumptions of groundless conjecture, or than those rumours which the world now receives as true. I cannot boast however of having enjoyed any such permission. I was enabled to ascertain what were the treasures of the Vatican, and to use a number of volumes; but I was not so fortunate as to obtain the full liberty of access which I desired.

Luckily however other collections were laid open to me, from which extensive and authentic, if not complete, information could be extracted. In the palmy days of aristocracy—that is, in the seventeenth century particularly,—the great families who were at the head of public affairs all over Europe, were in possession of a part of the public documents. No where was this so remarkably the case as in Rome. The kinsmen of the reigning pope, who in every pontificate possessed the supreme power, usually bequeathed, as an heirloom to the princely houses which they founded, a considerable quantity of state papers, accumulated during their administration. They were thought a part of the hereditary possessions of a family. In the palace which they built, there were two or three rooms, generally in the highest story, appropriated to books and manuscripts, and enriched by the contributions of each succeeding

generation. The private collections of Rome are, in a certain sense, the public ones; and the dispersion of the archives of the state in the different houses of the families successively at the head of affairs, was sanctioned by common usage; in the same way as a part of the public revenues were permitted to overflow into the hands of the papal families; or as some private collections, such as those of the Borghese or Doria palaces, far surpassed that of the Vatican gallery, in extent or historical importance.

It thus happens that the manuscripts which are preserved in the Barberini, Chigi, Altieri, Albani, and Corsini palaces, are of incalculable value for the ecclesiastical and political history of the popes of Rome, — the Church and State over which they presided. The state-archive office, which has not been very long arranged, is peculiarly important, as regards the middle ages, from its collection of registers, which would amply reward an inquirer into the history of that period for the labour of research; but so far as my knowledge extends, I cannot say that it contains much calculated to throw light on more modern times. Its value shrinks into nothing, (unless I have been purposely deceived,) before the splendour and the riches of private collections. Each of these, of course, embraces more especially the epoch in which the pope of the particular house reigned; but as the kinsmen of each retained a very eminent position;

as all men are eager to enlarge and complete a collection once begun, and as ample facilities for doing so were afforded in Rome, where a literary traffic in manuscripts had grown up, there is not one which does not contain many documents tending to throw great light on other ages, both remote and proximate. By far the richest (in consequence of some valuable bequests) is the Barberini; but the Corsini was, from its very foundation, planned and arranged with the greatest care and choice. I had the good fortune to be allowed access (in some cases with unlimited freedom) to all these collections, as well as to others of less importance. They afforded me an unhopèd-for harvest of authentic materials apposite to my purpose. Correspondences of the nuntiaturæ, with the accompanying instructions, and the reports which were brought back; lives of several popes, written in great detail, and with all the freedom of communications not intended to meet the public eye; lives of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; explanations of particular incidents and situations; official opinions and deliberations; reports of the administration of the provinces, their trade and manufactures; statistical tables; accounts of income and expenditure; by far the greater part of them unknown, usually constructed by men who had a thorough and practical knowledge of their subject, and of a credibility which, though it by no means precludes the

necessity for examination and criticism, is equal to what is universally accorded to the testimony of well-informed contemporaries.

Of these MSS., the oldest of which I made any use, concerns the conspiracy of the Porcari against Nicholas V. A few others related to the fifteenth century ; from the commencement of the sixteenth, they became at every step more numerous and full ; upon the whole course of the seventeenth, they throw a light which is doubly precious from the dearth of authentic information about Rome relating to that period ; while, from the beginning of the eighteenth, again, their number and value decrease. Both the state and court of Rome had then lost much of their influence and importance. I shall go through these Roman MSS., as well as the Venetian, in detail, in the Appendix, and shall quote whatever appears to me worthy of attention which I have not found a fit opportunity of noticing in the body of the work.

For the very mass of the materials, both in manuscript and in print, which lie before us, renders it necessary to impose strict limits on the text.

An Italian, a catholic, would set about the task in a totally different spirit from that in which the present work is written. By the expression of personal veneration, or it may be (in the present state of opinion), of personal hatred, he would impart to his work a characteristic, and, I doubt not, a more vivid and brilliant colouring ; and in

many passages he would be more circumstantial, more ecclesiastical, or more local. In these respects ■ protestant and a North German cannot hope to vie with him. The position and the feelings of such a writer with respect to the papacy are less exposed to the influences which excite the passions, and therefore while he is enabled to maintain the indifferency so essential to an historian, he must, from the very outset of his work, renounce that warmth of expression which springs from partiality or antipathy, and which might perhaps produce a considerable effect on Europe. We are necessarily deficient in true sympathy with purely ecclesiastical or canonical details. On the other hand, our circumstances enable us to occupy another point of view, which, if I mistake not, is more favourable to historical truth and impartiality.* For what is there that can now make the history of the papal power interesting or important to us? Not its peculiar relation to us, which can no longer affect us in any material point; nor the anxiety or dread which it can inspire. The times in which we had any thing to fear are over; we are conscious of our perfect security. The papacy can inspire us with no other

* No change has been produced in this respect by the events which have occurred since the publication of the first edition of this book. On reviewing it, the author has found no cause to make other than slight additions and alterations, which do no affect the main thread of the narrative.

interest than what arises from its historical development and its former influence.

The papal power was not so unchangeable as is commonly supposed. If we recur to the principles which are the conditions of its existence, which it cannot abandon without condemning itself to ruin, we find that it has always been as profoundly affected by the vicissitudes which have befallen the nations of Europe, as any other government. As the fortunes of the world have varied, as one nation or another has predominated, as the whole fabric of society has been shaken, the papal power has shared in the universal movement; complete metamorphoses have taken place in its maxims, objects, and claims; and, above all, its influence has experienced the greatest variations. If we look through the catalogue of all those names so often repeated through the whole series of centuries, from Pius I. in the second, down to our contemporaries, Pius VII. and VIII. in the nineteenth, it produces the impression of an unbroken stability; but we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by this appearance, since in truth the popes of different ages are distinguished from each other by differences nearly as essential as the dynasties of a kingdom. For us, who stand aloof, these transformations are precisely the most interesting object of attention. In them we trace a portion of the history of the world, of the progress of the whole human race; not only in the periods of the un-

disputed supremacy of the catholic church, but perhaps still more in those marked by the shock of action and counteraction—as in the times which the following work is intended to embrace—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in which we see the papacy threatened and shaken to its foundations, yet maintaining and strengthening, and even re-extending its power; in which we see it for a time advancing, conquering, but then again checked, and tottering once more to its fall; periods in which the mind of the western nations was peculiarly busied with ecclesiastical questions; and that power which, deserted and attacked by the one, was upheld and defended with fresh zeal by the other, necessarily asserted a high and universal importance.

This is the point of view which from our natural position invites us to consider it;—a task I shall now endeavour to fulfil.

It seems fitting that I should begin by recalling to the memory of my readers the situation of the papal power at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and the course of events which had led to that situation.

[An Index, which is wanting in the original, has been added.]

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1520	Charles V.
1522	Hadrian VI.	
1523	Clement VII.	
1534	Paul III.	
1550	Julius III.	
1555	Marcellus II.	
1555	Paul IV.	
1558	Ferdinand I.
1559	Pius IV.	
1564	Maximilian II.
1566	Pius V.	
1572	Gregory XIII.	
1576	Rudolph II.
1585	Sixtus V.	
1590	Urban VII.	
1590	Gregory XIV.	
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1592	Clement VIII.	
1605	Leo XI.	
1605	Paul V.	
1612	Matthias.
1619	Ferdinand II.
1621	Gregory XV.	
1623	Urban VIII.	
1637	Ferdinand III.
1644	Innocent X.	
1655	Alexander VII.	
1658	Leopold I.
1667	Clement IX.	
1670	Clement X.	
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1691	Innocent XII.	
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BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY. -

§ 1. CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

IF we survey the ancient world in its remoter ages, we find it peopled with a number of independent tribes. They dwelt around the Mediterranean Sea, spreading from its coasts to the interior as far as it was known; severed by various divisions; all originally confined within narrow boundaries; all in states of peculiar character and institutions. The independence which they enjoyed was not merely political. Every country had given birth to a religion of its own; the ideas of God and divine things were local; national deities of the most dissimilar attributes divided the faith and homage of the world; the law which their worshippers observed was indissolubly connected with the law of the state. We may say that this strict union of state and religion, this double independence, (only slightly qualified by the relations of a common origin,) had the greatest share in the civilization of

antiquity: the boundaries to which each was confined were narrow, but within these the vigorous abundance of youth was left to develop itself according to its own free impulses.

This aspect of things was totally changed by the ascendancy of Rome. We see all the self-governing powers which filled the world bend, one after another, before her rising power, and vanish. The earth was suddenly left void of independent nations.

In other times, states have been shaken to their foundations because religion had lost her power over them; in those days, the subjugation of states necessarily involved the fall of their religions. Dragged in the train of political power, they congregated in Rome; but what significance could they retain, torn from the soil to which they were indigenous? The worship of Isis had perhaps a meaning in Egypt; it deified the powers of nature, such as they appear in that country: in Rome it was a senseless idolatry. The contact of the various mythologies was necessarily followed by their mutual hostility and destruction. No philosophical theory could be discovered capable of reconciling their contradictions.

But even had this been possible, it would no longer have satisfied the wants of the world. With whatever sympathy we may regard the fall of so many independent states, we cannot deny that a new life arose immediately out of their ruins. Independence fell; but with it fell the barriers of narrow nationalities. Nations were conquered, but by this very conquest they were united, incorpo-

rated. As the empire was called the world, so its inhabitants felt themselves a single connected race ; mankind began to be conscious of the common bonds which unite them.

At this stage of human affairs Jesus Christ was born.

His life was humble and obscure ; his occupation, to heal the sick, to speak of God to a few fishermen, who did not always understand him, in hints and parables ; he had not where to lay his head : but—at this point of our retrospect of the world, let us pause to say it—earth has seen nothing more innocent or more powerful, more sublime or more holy, than his conversation, his life, and his death. In all his discourse breathes the pure breath of God : his words, according to the expression of Peter, are the words of eternal life ; the race of man has no tradition which can come into the most distant comparison with this.

If the national creeds had ever contained an element of true religion, this was now entirely obliterated ; they had, as we have said, no longer a meaning ; in Him who united the divine and human natures, appeared, in contrast with them, the eternal and universal relation of God to the world, of man to God.

Christ was born in a nation which indeed regarded the monotheism it professed only as a national worship, and held it mixed with an exclusive and narrow ritual law ; but it had the immeasurable merit of holding fast to that faith with a constancy which nothing could shake. Now, for

the first time, this doctrine received its full significance. Christ annulled the law by fulfilling it: the Son of Man proved himself the Lord also of the Sabbath, according to his own expression; he revealed the eternal and essential import of forms which a narrow intelligence had never understood. Thus, amidst a people which had hitherto held itself aloof from every other, arose, in all the force of truth, a faith which invited all and received all into its bosom. It proclaimed the Universal God, who, as St. Paul taught the Athenians, "had made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the earth." For this sublime doctrine the moment had, as we have seen, arrived. A race of men had arisen fitted to receive it. It lightened like a sunbeam over the earth, says Eusebius.* And in fact we see it in a short time spread from the Euphrates to the Ebro, the Rhine and the Danube, beyond all the wide frontiers of the empire.

Mild and innocent as it was, however, it could not, in the nature of things, but encounter the strongest opposition from the existing religions, which were bound up with so many of the interests of life. I will point out only one crisis of this struggle, which appears to me peculiarly important.

The political spirit of the antique religions once more rose to view in a new form. The sum of all those independent powers which once filled the world had been concentrated in the hands of

* Hist. Eccl. II. 3.

one; there was but one power which seemed self-dependent; to this they all attached themselves; they paid divine worship to the emperor.* Temples were raised and altars dedicated to him; they swore by his name, they celebrated festivals in his honour; his statues afforded sanctuary. The worship paid to the genius of the emperor was perhaps the only one common to the whole empire. All idolatries clung around this as to a common prop.

This worship of the Cæsar, and the doctrine of Christ, had, in relation to the local religions, a certain similarity; although there existed between them the strongest conceivable contrast.

The emperor considered religion under its worldly aspect—bound to earth and the goods of earth; to him be these surrendered, says Celsus, all that we have comes from him. Christianity viewed it in the fulness of the spirit and of superhuman truth.

The emperor united state and religion; Christianity emphatically distinguished that which is God's from that which is Cæsar's.

In sacrificing to the emperor, men avowed the most abject servitude. Even in that union of religion and state, in which, according to the earlier constitution, resided the most perfect independence, lay, according to the present, the seal of subjection. Christianity, in forbidding sacrifices to the emperor,

* Eckhel. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, P. ii. vol. viii. p. 456; he quotes a passage of Tertullian, *Apol. c. 28.*, from which it appears that the worship of the Cæsar was sometimes the most fervent of any.

accomplished the most glorious emancipation. It reawakened in the nations the primeval and innate religious consciousness (if it be true that such a sentiment was antecedent to all idolatry), and set it in hostility to this world-subjecting power, which, not satisfied with earthly, sought to grasp also at heavenly things. Hence man derived a spiritual element in which he was once more independent, free and personally unconquerable; the earth acquired freshness and new capacity for life; it was fertilized and prepared for new productions.

It was the contrast between the earthly and the spiritual; between servitude and freedom; between gradual decay and vigorous renovation.

This is not the place in which to describe the long conflict between these principles. All the elements of life were drawn into the vortex, gradually imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and borne along with this grand current of the human mind. The error of idolatry, says Chrysostom, has vanished of itself.* Paganism already appeared to him a conquered city, whose walls were overthrown, whose halls, theatres and public buildings were consumed with fire, whose defenders were slain; a few old men and children lingered among the ruins. Even these soon were found no more. A change such as the world had never known had begun.

The blood of the martyrs sprinkled the catacombs: on those spots where the Olympian gods

* Δόγος εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας.

were worshipped, amidst the very pillars which had supported their temples, arose shrines in memory of those who had scorned their worship and had resisted unto death. The religion which had arisen in deserts and in prisons was embraced by the world. Men saw with surprise a secular building erected by heathens, the Basilica, converted into a Christian temple. The change was most remarkable. The apsis of the Basilica contained an Augusteum*, the images of those Cæsars to whom divine honours were paid. The very places which they occupied received, as we still see in numerous Basilicas, the figures of Christ and his apostles. The statues of the rulers of the world, who had been regarded as gods, vanished and gave place to the likeness of the Son of Man—the Son of God. Local deities faded and disappeared. On every highway, on the steep summits of hills, in mountain-gorges and valleys, on the housetops, and on the tessellated floors, the cross was seen. The victory was complete and decisive. As we see on the coins of Constantine the labarum with the monogram of Christ above the conquered dragon, even thus did the worship and the name of Christ stand triumphant above prostrate heathenism.

Viewed even from this point, how full of infinite import and infinite consequences was the Roman empire! In the age of its ascendant, it crushed the independence, it overthrew the power, of nations; it annihilated that feeling of self-existence and self-

* I borrow this account from E. Q. Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, vii. p. 100. (Ed. 1807.)

reliance, the very essence of which lay in division : in the years of its decline, it beheld true religion arise out of its bosom ; the purest form of a common consciousness, the consciousness of a community in the One true God ; it nourished and reared to maturity the power of this faith. The race of man awoke to the sense of its nature and destinies ; it had found its religion.

This religion now stamped upon the empire its outward form for ever.

The sacerdotal offices of paganism were conferred in the same manner as civil employments. In Judaism one tribe was set apart for ecclesiastical authority. It was the distinguishing feature of Christianity, that a peculiar class or profession, consisting of members who entered it of their free choice, consecrated by the laying on of hands, removed from all worldly cares and occupations, devoted themselves "to spiritual and godly things." At first the church was governed according to republican forms, but these disappeared in proportion as the new faith attained the mastery. Gradually the clergy separated themselves altogether from the laity.

It appears to me that this was the result of a certain internal necessity. The rise of Christianity involved the liberation of religion from all political elements. From this followed the growth of a distinct ecclesiastical class with a peculiar constitution. In this separation of the church from the state consists perhaps the greatest, the most pervading and influential peculiarity of all Christian

times. The spiritual and secular powers may come into near contact, may even stand in the closest community; but they can be thoroughly incorporated only at rare conjunctures and for short periods. Their mutual relation, their position with regard to each other, form, henceforward, one of the most important considerations in all history.

The constitution of the ecclesiastical body was necessarily formed upon the model of that of the empire. The hierarchy of bishops, metropolitan patriarchs, arose, corresponding to the graduated ranks of the civil administration. Ere long the Roman bishops assumed pre-eminency above all others. The pretence that primates whose supremacy was acknowledged by East and West existed in the first centuries of the Church, is, indeed, utterly groundless; but it is unquestionable that they soon acquired a consideration which raised them above all other ecclesiastical authorities. Many things contributed to secure this to them.

If the importance of every provincial capital conferred on its bishop a corresponding weight and dignity, how much more must this have been the case in the ancient capital of that vast empire to which it had given its name!* Rome was one of the most eminent apostolical seats; here the greatest number of martyrs had perished; during the persecutions, the bishops of Rome had displayed extraordinary firmness and courage; their succes-

* Casaubon, *Exercitationes ad Annales Ecclesiasticos Baronii*, p. 260.

sion had often been rather to martyrdom and death, than to the dignity of office. But now, independent of these considerations, the emperor found it expedient to favour the rise of a great patriarchal authority. In a law which became decisive for the supremacy of Christianity, Theodosius the Great ordains, that all nations who were subject to his grace, should receive the faith which had been delivered by St. Peter to the Romans.* Valentinian III. forbade the bishops, both in Gaul and in the other provinces, to depart from ancient usages without the approbation of the venerable man, the pope of the holy city. From this time the power of the Roman bishops grew up under the protection of the emperor himself. It is true that this political connexion operated also as a check upon it. Had the imperial power been vested in an individual, one supreme ecclesiastical power might also have taken firm root; but to this the partition of the empire presented an obstacle. It was impossible that the emperors of the East, who so jealously asserted their ecclesiastical rights, should favour the extension of the power of the patriarchs of the West within their territories. The constitution of the church, in this respect also, corresponded with the constitution of the empire.

* Codex Theodos. XVI. 1, 2. "Cunctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat." The edict of Valentinian III. is also mentioned by Planck, *Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung*, I. 642.

§ 2. THE PAPACY IN CONNEXION WITH THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

SCARCELY was this great change accomplished, the Christian religion planted, the church founded, when new events disturbed the world. The Roman empire, so long accustomed to conquest and domination, was now in its turn attacked by its neighbours, overrun, conquered.

Christianity itself was shaken in the general convulsion. In the hour of their utmost peril the Romans once more remembered the Etrurian mysteries; the Athenians believed that Achilles and Pallas would save them; the Carthaginians prayed to the Genius Cœlestis: but these were mere transient impulses; whilst the empire in the western provinces crumbled into ruins, the edifice of the Roman church remained solid and entire.

It was exposed, however, as was inevitable, to various dangers and calamities, and experienced an entire change of position. A heathen nation subdued Britain. Arian kings conquered the greater remaining part of the West. In Italy, the Lombards, for a long time Arians, and always dangerous, hostile neighbours, founded a mighty kingdom at the very gates of Rome. But while the Roman bishops, hemmed in on all sides, strove to become masters at least in their ancient patriarchal diocese, and displayed consummate prudence in the attempt,

they were assailed by a new and yet greater calamity. The Arabs, not only conquerors like the Germans, but imbued to fanaticism with a dogmatical and haughty creed fundamentally opposed to Christianity, poured themselves over the West as well as the East; after repeated attacks they conquered Africa; one assault made them masters of Spain; Muza boasted that he would force his way through the gates of the Pyrenees, across the Alps into Italy, and cause the name of Mahommed to be proclaimed in the Vatican.

In the beginning of the eighth century Roman Christendom was in the most critical position.

While the Arabs began to rule over the whole coast of the Mediterranean, and to carry on a war of extermination against all unbelievers, Christendom was divided against itself. Its two chiefs, the emperor at Constantinople and the pope at Rome, took opposite sides in the iconoclastic dissensions, which now raged with the most rancorous fury. The emperor often practised against the life of the pope. Meanwhile the Lombards perceived how advantageous this division was to them. Their king Astolphus took possession of provinces which had hitherto acknowledged the emperor; he marched upon Rome, and with furious threats, summoned that city to pay him tribute, and to surrender.*

With these intestine divisions on the one side,

* Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *Vitæ Pontificum*. Vita Stephani III. ed. Paris, p. 83. "Fremens ut leo pestiferas minas Romanis dirigere non desinebat, asserens omnes uno gladio jugulari, nisi suæ sese subderent ditioni."

and the decisive predominancy of a hostile and mighty power on the other, nothing was to be anticipated but the utter downfall and extinction of the church, if it did not receive powerful and permanent succour from some quarter.

Such succour was at hand. Christianity, in accordance with its original destination, had long found its way beyond the limits of the empire. It had taken peculiar hold on the Germanic peoples ; a Christian power had arisen in the midst of them, towards which the pope had only to stretch out his hands, in order to find willing allies against all enemies, and energetic aid in all dangers.

Of all the Germanic nations, the Frankish alone, from its first rise in the provinces of the Roman empire, had become catholic. This conversion had been very advantageous to it. In the catholic subjects of their Arian enemies, the Burgundians and Visigoths, the Franks found natural allies. We read much of the miracles which are said to have happened to Clovis ; how St. Martin sent a hind to show him the ford through the Vienne ; how St. Hilary went before him in a pillar of fire : we shall hardly err greatly if we presume that these legends were but types of the succours which the natives afforded to their fellow-believers, to whom, as Gregory of Tours says, they wished success “with eager inclination.”

This disposition to Catholicism, which was proved from the very first by such mighty results, was afterwards renovated and strengthened by a very singular influence proceeding from another quarter.

Pope Gregory the Great happened to see some Anglo-Saxons in the slave-market at Rome, who attracted his attention, and determined him to cause the Gospel to be preached to the nation to which they belonged. Never did a pope resolve on an undertaking more big with consequences.

Not only did the doctrine take root in Germanic Britain, but with it a veneration for Rome and the Holy See such as no other country had ever evinced. The Anglo-Saxons began to make pilgrimages to Rome; they sent their youth thither; king Offa introduced the tax of the Peter's penny, wherewith to pay for the education of the clergy and to aid the pilgrims. The nobles and men of importance journeyed to Rome, that they might die there, and thence be received with greater acceptance among the saints in heaven. It was as if this nation transferred to Rome and the objects of Christian worship, the old German superstition, that the gods were nearer to some favoured spots than to others.

A much more important circumstance was, that the English now communicated their own devout and catholic spirit to the continent and the Frankish empire. The apostle of the Germans was an Anglo-Saxon. Boniface, filled as he was with the reverence of his nation for St. Peter and his successors, promised from the very beginning to conform faithfully to all the decrees of the See of Rome. This promise he most rigorously performed. He imposed extraordinary obedience on the German church which he founded. The bishops bound them-

selves by an express vow to remain subject, to the end of their lives, to the Roman church, to St. Peter and his successors. Nor did he persuade the Germans alone to these acts of submission. The bishops of Gaul had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome. Boniface, who on some occasions presided in their synods, availed himself of the opportunity to bring this western portion of the Frankish church into the same obedience. From that time the Gallic archbishops received the pallium from Rome. The submissiveness to ecclesiastical authority which had characterized the Anglo-Saxons thus extended itself over the whole Frankish empire.

This empire was now become the central point of all the Germanic tribes of the West. It mattered not that its royal house, the Merovingian race, destroyed itself by the atrocious and murderous acts of its members. Another line immediately raised itself in their stead to the supreme power; all men full of energy, of potent will and matchless vigour. While the surrounding kingdoms crumbled into ruins, and the world threatened to become the spoil of the Moslem sword, this race it was, the house of the Pepins of Heristall, afterwards called the Carlovingian, that opposed the first and the decisive resistance. It was this race also which fostered the growing development of the religious spirit: we early find it on good terms with Rome. Boniface enjoyed the especial protection of Charles Martel and Pepin le Bref.*

* Bonifacii Epistolæ; ep. 12, ad Danielelem episc. "Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros

Let us now observe the position of the papal power with respect to the rest of the world. On the one side, the eastern empire, decaying, feeble, incapable of maintaining Christianity against Islamism, or even of defending its own territory in Italy against the Lombards, yet claiming supremacy even in spiritual things: on the other, the Germanic nations, robust, powerful, victorious over Islam; attached, with all the freshness of youthful enthusiasm, to authority, to which they, as yet, had no claim; filled with unconditional, willing devotedness.

Already Gregory II. felt what he had gained. With the consciousness of his own importance, he writes to the iconoclast emperor, Leo the Isaurian, "All the nations of the west have their eyes turned towards our humble person; they regard us as a god upon earth." His successors felt more and more the necessity of separating themselves from a power which imposed duties, while it afforded no protection, although it inherited the name and the empire of Rome: while, on the contrary, they contracted with the great captains of the west, the Frank princes, an alliance, which grew closer from year to year, afforded great advantages to both parties, and at length exercised a pervading influence on the history of the world.

When Pepin the younger, not contented with

vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo."

the substance of kingly power, chose to possess its name also, he felt that he stood in need of a higher sanction. This the Pope granted him. In return, the new king undertook the defence of the pope, "of the holy church and the republic of God," against the Lombards. To defend them did not satisfy his zeal. He very soon compelled the Lombards to surrender the exarchate, the Italian territory which they had wrested from the eastern empire. Justice would indeed have demanded that it should be restored to the emperor, to whom it had belonged. This was proposed to Pepin. He replied, "that he had not gone to battle for the sake of any man, but for the honour of St. Peter alone, and to obtain forgiveness for his sins."* He caused the keys of the conquered cities to be laid upon the altar of St. Peter's. This is the foundation of the whole temporal dominion of the popes.

The alliance continued to acquire strength from the lively reciprocity of good offices. At length Charlemagne delivered the pope from the oppressive and dangerous neighbourhood of the Lombard princes. He himself manifested the most profound submission; he repaired to Rome; kissing the steps of St. Peter's he ascended the vestibule where the pope awaited him; he ratified the donations of Pepin to the church. In return, the pope was his unshaken friend; the relations of the head of the church to the Italian bishops facilitated Charle-

* "Anastasius: affirmans etiam sub juramento, quod per nullius hominis favorem sese certamini sæpius dedisset, nisi pro amore Petri et venia delictorum."

magne's conquests over the Lombards, and his acquisition of their territory.

This course of things soon led to still greater results.

In his own city, torn by contending factions, the pope could no longer stand his ground without foreign aid. Once again did Charlemagne repair to Rome to defend him. The aged prince was now crowned with fame and conquest. In a long series of battles he had gradually subdued all his neighbours, and had united nearly all the Romano-Germanic Christian nations; he had led them to victory against their common enemies; it was remarked that he was possessor of all the seats of the western emperors, in Italy, Gaul and Germany, and heir of all their power.* These countries were, it is true, become a totally different world; but did that affect the dignity of their ruler? Pepin had thus earned the kingly diadem, because to him who has the power, the honour, of right, belongs. On this occasion also the pope resolved on the course to be pursued. Penetrated with gratitude, and fully conscious of his own need of a permanent defender, he crowned Charlemagne on the Christmas-eve

* I so understand the *Annales Laureshamenses*, ad annum 801. “*Visum est et ipsi apostolico Leoni,—ut ipsum Carolum, regem Francorum, Imperatorem, nominare debuissent, qui ipsam Romanam tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares sedere soliti erant, et reliquas sedes, quas ipse per Italiam seu Galliam nec non et Germaniam tenebat (he probably means to say ‘ipsi tenebant’): quia Deus omnipotens has omnes sedes in potestatem ejus concessit, Deo justum eis esse videbatur, ut ipse cum Deo adjutorio—ipsum nomen haberet.*”

of the year 800, with the crown of the western empire.

This was the consummation of the whole series of events which had occurred since the first irruption of the Germans into the Roman empire.

A Frankish prince filled the throne, and wielded all the power, of the emperor of the West. Charlemagne executed unquestioned acts of the highest authority in the territories which had been surrendered to St. Peter. His grandson, Lothaire, nominated his own judges at Rome, and annulled confiscations which the pope had imposed. It is clear that the pope substantially belonged to the Frankish empire; and in this consisted the novelty of his situation. He severed himself from the East, where his authority gradually ceased to be acknowledged. The Greek emperors had long since stripped him of his patriarchal diocese in their dominions.* On the other hand, the western churches (the Lombard, to which the institutions of the Frankish had been transferred, not excepted) paid him an obedience which he had never before received. By permitting the establishment at Rome of schools for Frieslanders, Saxons and Franks, by which the very city was Germanised,

* Nicholas I. deplotes the loss of the patriarchal power of the papal chair "*per Epirum veterem Epirumque novam atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessaliam, Achaïam, Daciam ripensem, Daciamque mediterraneam, Mœsiam, Dardaniam, Prævalim;*" and the loss of the patrimonial possessions in Calabria and Sicily. Pagi (*Critica in Annales Baronii*, iii. p. 216.) compares this letter with another by Adrian I. to Charlemagne, whence we learn that these losses had been caused by the dispute with the iconoclasts.

he laid the foundation of that union of German and Roman elements, which has, from that period, formed the characteristic of the West. In the moment of his uttermost weakness and peril, his power struck its roots into a fresh soil. When it seemed nodding to its fall, it arose in renewed vigour, and acquired a stability which was destined to endure for ages. The hierarchy which originated in the Roman empire poured itself abroad over the Germanic nations. Here it found a boundless field for unwearied and successful activity.

§ 3. RELATION OF THE POPES TO THE GERMAN EMPERORS.—INTERNAL GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE HIERARCHY.

WE shall pass over some centuries that we may arrive at a nearer and more distinct view of the events which they generated and matured.

The Frankish empire has crumbled into pieces ; the German has arisen full of energy and might.

Never was the German name more potent and illustrious in Europe than in the tenth and eleventh centuries, under the Saxon and the early Salic emperors. From the eastern frontiers, where the king of Poland had been compelled to do personal homage and to submit to a partition of his territory, and where the duke of Bohemia was condemned to imprisonment, we see Conrad II. march westward to defend Burgundy against the pretensions of the French nobles. He defeated them in

the plains of Champagne; his Italian vassals crossed Mount St. Bernard to his assistance; he caused himself to be crowned at Geneva, and held his diet at Soleure. Immediately afterwards we meet him in Lower Italy. "On the frontiers of his empire," says his historian Wippo, "in Capua and Benevento, he settled all differences by his word." Not less powerful and glorious was the reign of Henry III. At one time we find him on the Scheldt and the Lys, victor over the counts of Flanders; at another, in Hungary, which he compelled, at least for a time, to do him feudal service; on the other side the Raab, where his course was checked by the elements alone. The king of Denmark repaired to Merseburg to meet him; one of the most powerful princes of France, the count of Tours, became his vassal; Spanish histories relate, that he demanded from Ferdinand I. of Castile, victorious and powerful as that monarch was, an acknowledgment that he was liege lord of all the sovereigns of Christendom.

If we inquire what was the basis upon which so extensive a power, claiming supremacy over all Europe, internally rested, we shall find that it contained a very important ecclesiastical element.

With the Germans, conquest and conversion advanced together. The marches of the empire extended as the influence of the church extended, across the Elbe, towards the Oder, down the Danube; monks and priests heralded the German influence in Bohemia and Hungary. Hence the spiritual authorities everywhere acquired vast power.

In Germany, bishops and abbots of the empire were invested, not only within their possessions, but also without them, with the rights and privileges of counts or even of dukes, and church lands were no longer described as situated in counties, but counties in bishoprics. In Upper Italy almost all the cities were governed by the viscounts of their bishops.

It were a mistake to imagine that the aim of these measures was to give real independence to the spiritual power.

As the nomination to ecclesiastical offices belonged to the kings, (in recognition of which the chapters sent back the ring and staff of their deceased superiors to the king's court, whence these badges of office were granted anew,) it was generally advantageous to the prince to confer temporal authority on the man of his choice, upon whose attachment and obedience he could rely. Henry III., in defiance of his recalcitrant nobility, placed a plebeian devoted to himself on the chair of St. Ambrose at Milan. To this measure he was chiefly indebted for the obedience which he afterwards received from the north of Italy. The facts are illustrative of each other, that, of all the emperors, Henry III. was the most bountiful to the church, while at the same time he insisted with the greatest rigour on the right of nominating bishops.* Care was also taken that the endowment abstracted nothing from the power of the state. The property of

* Examples of this strictness are to be found in Planck : *Geschichte der christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung*, iii. 407.

the church was exempted neither from civil burdens, nor even from feudal service ; we frequently see bishops take the field at the head of their vassals. What an advantage was it therefore to be able to nominate bishops like the archbishop of Bremen, who exercised supreme spiritual power in the Scandinavian kingdoms, and over numerous Wendish tribes !

If the ecclesiastical element was of such vast importance in the institutions of the German empire, it is evident how much depended on the relation in which the emperor stood to the head of the whole clerical body, the pope of Rome. This relation was not less intimate than that which had existed between the papacy and the Roman emperors, or the successors of Charlemagne. The political subjection of the pope was unquestionable.

It is true that, before the empire had definitively devolved on a German race, while it was yet in feeble and vacillating hands, the popes had exercised acts of supremacy over it. But as soon as the energetic German princes had possessed themselves of this dignity, they were not less sovereign lords of the papacy than the Carlovingians had been. With vigorous hand Otho the Great protected the pope whom he had placed on the throne* ; his sons followed his example ; and the revival

* In Goldast. *Constitut. Imperiales*, I. p. 221. we find an instrument (with the Scholia of Dietrich von Mein) transferring to Otho and the German emperors the right of Charlemagne to choose a successor to himself, and in future the popes of Rome. There is doubt however of its being a fabrication.

of the Roman factions, who conferred or took away, sold or alienated, the popedom, as their family interests dictated, rendered the necessity for a higher intervention the more manifest. It is well known how resolutely this was exercised by Henry III. His synod at Sutri deposed the intrusive popes. From the time he had placed the patrician ring on his finger and had received the imperial crown, he selected at his good pleasure the successor to the papal chair. Four German popes nominated by him succeeded each other. When the highest ecclesiastical dignity fell vacant, the delegates from Rome who repaired to the imperial court to hear a successor appointed, appeared in no respect different from the envoys from other bishoprics.

In this state of things, it was for the interest of the emperor himself that the papacy should inspire respect and consideration. Henry III. promoted the reforms which the popes his nominees undertook ; the increase of their power excited no jealousy in him. That Leo IX. in defiance of the wishes of the king of France, held a synod at Rheims, appointed and removed French bishops, and received the solemn declaration that the pope was the sole primate of the universal church, could be nowise displeasing to the emperor, so long as he himself ruled over the whole papacy. This formed but a part of that pre-eminent authority which he claimed over all Europe. He stood in the same relation to the other powers of Christendom through the pope, as to those of the North through the archbishop of Bremen.

But his position was attended with great danger. The constitution of the ecclesiastical body in the Germanic and Germanised states had assumed a totally different character from that which it had worn in the Roman. A large portion of political power had been transferred to the clergy; they had princely rank and jurisdiction. As we have seen, they were still dependent on the emperor, the highest temporal authority; but how if this authority should once more fall into feeble hands, while at the same time the head of the church, armed with triple power, derived from his own dignity, (the object of universal veneration) from the obedience of his subordinates, and from his influence over other states, should seize the favouring moment, and place himself in opposition to the imperial power?

More than one inducement to such a course lay in the very nature of the case. The church contained within herself a peculiar principle, wholly at variance with so great a temporal influence, and this would of necessity manifest itself as soon as she had acquired sufficient strength. And, as it seems to me, it involved a contradiction, that the pope should exercise a supreme and universal spiritual power, and at the same time should be subject to the emperor. It had been otherwise if Henry III. had succeeded in raising himself to be the head of entire Christendom; but as he failed, the pope might have found himself, in the various turns of political affairs, completely obstructed by his subordination to the emperor, in the free exercise of

that authority as common father of the faithful, which his office conferred on him.

Under these circumstances, Gregory VII. ascended the papal chair. Gregory was a man of a daring, exclusive and haughty spirit ; immoveable in his adherence to logical consequences, and withal, equally skilful and subtle in eluding just and well-grounded opposition. He saw whither the course of things tended. In all the trifling affairs of the day, he discerned the vast contingent events with which the future was pregnant ; he determined to emancipate the papacy. From the moment he clearly saw his object, without looking to the right or left, without a moment's hesitation, he seized on the decisive means of accomplishing it. The decree which he caused to be passed at one of his councils, that in future no ecclesiastical office could be granted by a temporal sovereign, shook the constitution of the empire to its very base. This, as we have remarked, rested on the connexion between temporal and spiritual institutions ; the link between them was the investiture ; the stripping the emperor of this ancient privilege was equivalent to a revolution.

It is evident that Gregory would not have been able even to entertain the project of such a change, much less to effect it, had not the disorders of the German empire, during the minority of Henry IV. and the rebellion of the German nobles and princes against that monarch, favoured the enterprise. In the great vassals he found natural allies. They too felt oppressed by the predominance of the imperial

power; they too sought to shake off this yoke. In a certain sense the pope was, like them, a magnate of the empire. There was perfect accordance between the pope's declaring Germany an elective empire, by which the power of the princes must be immensely increased, and the little opposition he had to encounter from them when he emancipated himself from the empire. Even in the contest concerning investiture their interests went hand in hand. The pope was yet far from claiming the direct nomination of the bishops; he left the choice to the chapters, over which the higher German nobility exercised the greatest influence. In a word, the pope had the aristocratic interests on his side.

But even with these allies, what long and bloody struggles did it cost the popes to accomplish their projects! From Denmark to Apulia, says the eulogy on St. Anno, from Carlingen to Hungary, has the empire turned its arms against its own entrails. The struggle between the spiritual and temporal principles, which had formerly gone hand in hand, divided Christendom. How often have the popes been forced to retreat from their own capital and to see the apostolic seat ascended by antipopes!

At length, however, their success was complete.

After long centuries of subjection, after other centuries of an often doubtful struggle, the independence of the Roman see, and of the principle on which it rested, was at length attained. The position of the popes at this moment was indeed most lofty and dignified. The clergy were completely in their hands. It is worthy of remark

that during this period the popes of the most resolute character, for example, Gregory VII., were Benedictines. By the introduction of celibacy they transformed the whole body of secular clergy into a sort of monastic order. The universal bishopric which they claimed had a sort of resemblance to the power of an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot of his order. The popes desired to be the only bishops of the church; they interfered without hesitation in the administration of every diocese*; they even compared their legates to the proconsuls of ancient Rome! While this order, firmly compacted within, dispersed over all lands, powerful by its possessions, and ruling every action of life by its ministry, constituted a body obedient to one head, political states were crumbling into pieces. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century Prior Gerohus ventured to say, "It will come to pass that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into tetrarchies; not till then will the church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest."† But little was wanting to the literal accomplishment of this prediction. For which, in fact, was more pow-

* One of the main points, concerning which I will give a passage from a letter of Henry IV. to Gregory. (Mansi Concil. n. collectio. xx. 471.) "*Rectores sanctæ ecclesiæ, videl. archiepiscopos, episcopos, presbyteros sicut servos pedibus tuis calcasti.*" The pope in this case had public opinion on his side. "*In quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti.*"

† Schröckh quotes this passage, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxvii. p. 117.

erful in England in the thirteenth century, Henry III., or the twenty-four who for a time governed the kingdom? In Castile, the king or the Altos-homes? The imperial power seemed almost superfluous from the time that Frederic granted to the princes of the empire the substantial attributes of sovereignty. Italy, like Germany, was filled with independent states. Almost the only comprehensive, centralizing power was that possessed by the pope. The mingled spiritual and temporal character which life had assumed during that period, and the entire course of events, inevitably tended to produce such a power, and to render him the depository of it. When countries long lost, like Spain, were at length rescued from Mahommedanism; when provinces yet unreclaimed, like Prussia, were won from paganism and planted with Christian people; when even the capitals of the Greek faith conformed to the Latin rite; when hundreds of thousands went forth to defend the banner of the cross on the holy sepulchre, must not the sovereign pontiff, who had a hand in all these undertakings, who received the allegiance of all these subjugated powers, enjoy immeasurable and pre-eminent consideration? Under his conduct, in his name, the nations of the West went forth as one people in countless swarms to the conquest of the world. We cannot wonder if he wielded an almost omnipotent authority, when a king of England received his kingdom from him as a fief; when a king of Aragon transferred his to the Apostle Peter; when Naples was actually given over by the pope to a

foreign house. Wonderful physiognomy of those times, which no one has yet placed before us in all its completeness and truth !

It is the strangest combination of internal strife and of brilliant external success, of independence and obedience, of spiritual and temporal things. What contrarieties in the character of Piety herself ! One while she retreats into the rugged mountain, or into the lonely forest, that she may devote all her days to the holy and peaceful contemplation of the divine glory. Waiting for death, she denies herself every enjoyment that life offers. When she abides among men, with what ardour does she strive to give utterance to the ideas in which she lives and moves, to clothe with life and form the mysteries which dimly float before her eyes ! But in a moment we turn and behold her with altered mien ; her who invented the inquisition, who exercised the terrible judgment of the sword upon those of another faith, who prompted the leader of the expedition against the Albigenses, when he said, “ We have spared neither age, nor sex, nor rank ; we have smitten every one with the edge of the sword.”

Sometimes she appeared under both aspects at the same moment.

At the sight of Jerusalem the crusaders alighted from their horses, and uncovered their feet, that they might approach the sacred walls like true pilgrims ; in the hottest of the battle they thought they received the visible aid of saints and angels. Hardly had they scaled the walls, when they rushed

forth to plunder and carnage; on the site of Solomon's Temple they slaughtered thousands of Saracens; they burned the Jews in their synagogues; they sprinkled with blood the holy threshold on which they came to kneel in adoration. A contradiction which completed the picture of the religious spirit of that age and of those nations.

§ 4. CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THERE are periods in the history of the world which excite in us a peculiar and anxious curiosity to search into the plans of the divine government, to investigate the phases of the education of the human race.

However defective be the civilization we have delineated, it was necessary to the complete naturalization of Christianity in the west. It was no light thing to subdue the haughty spirits of the north, the nations under the dominion of ancestral superstitions, to the ideas of Christianity. It was necessary that the religious element should predominate for a time, in order that it might gain fast hold on the German mind. By this, at the same time, was effected the intimate blending of the Roman and Germanic elements. There is a community among the nations of modern times which has always been regarded as the main basis of the general civilization; a community in church and state, in manners, customs, and literature. In order

to produce this, it was necessary that the western nations should, for a time, form, as it were, a single state, temporal and spiritual.

But this too was only one stage in the great progress of things. As soon as the change was accomplished, new consequences appeared.

The commencement of a new epoch was announced by the simultaneous and almost universal rise of national languages. With slow but unbroken course they forced their way into all the various branches of intellectual activity; the peculiar idiom of the church receded before them step by step. Universality gave place to a new and nobler kind of individuality. Hitherto the ecclesiastical element had overpowered all national peculiarities: under a new character and aspect, but once more distinct, they now entered upon a new career.

It seems as though all human designs and actions were subject to the silent and often imperceptible, but mighty and resistless march of events. The previous state of the world had been favourable to the papal domination; that of the moment we are considering was directly hostile to it. The nations no longer stood in their former need of the impulse given by the ecclesiastical power; they arose in opposition to it. They felt their own capacity for independence.

It is worth while to recall to our recollection the more important events in which this tendency manifested itself.

It was, as is well known, the French who made

the first decisive stand against the pretensions of the popes. The nation unanimously resisted the bulls of excommunication issued by Boniface VIII. In several hundred acts of adhesion, all the popular authorities expressed their assent to the measures of Philip the Fair.

The Germans followed. When the popes attacked the empire with their old animosity, although it had lost much of its former importance, the electors, determined to secure it from foreign influence, assembled on the banks of the Rhine, in the field of Rense, to deliberate in their chairs of stone on some common measure for the maintenance "of the honour and dignity of the empire."

Their purpose was to establish its independence against all aggressions of the popes, by a solemn resolution. Shortly after, this was simultaneously proclaimed, with all due forms, by the whole body of potentates; emperor, princes, and electors. They made a common stand against the principles of papal policy.*

Nor did England long remain behind. Nowhere had the popes enjoyed greater influence, nor disposed more arbitrarily of benefices; till at length, when Edward III. would no longer pay the tribute which his predecessors had engaged to pay, his parliament united with him and promised to support him in his resistance. The king took measures to prevent any further encroachments of the papal power.

* *Licet juris utriusque.* Öhlenschläger: Staatsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserthums in der ersten Hälfte des 14ten Jahrhunderts. No. 63

We see one nation after another awoken to a consciousness of its own independence and unity.

The civil power will no longer acknowledge any higher authority. The popes no longer find allies in the middle classes ; their interference is resolutely repelled by princes and legislative bodies.

It happened at the same time that the papacy itself fell into a weakness and confusion which enabled the civil power, hitherto only acting on the defensive, to retaliate aggressions.

Schism broke out. We must mark its consequences. For a long time it rested with princes to attach themselves, according to their political convenience, to this or that pope : the spiritual power found within itself no means of putting an end to the division ; the secular power alone could do this. When a council assembled for this purpose in Constance the members no longer voted, as formerly, by individuals, but by the four nations. Each nation was allowed to hold preliminary meetings to deliberate on the vote it was to give. They deposed a pope by common consent : the newly elected pontiff was compelled to sign with them, severally, concordats, which were, at least by the precedent they afforded, very important. During the council of Basle and the new schism, some states remained neutral ; and this second division in the church could only be healed by the immediate intervention of the princes.* Nothing could possibly have a stronger tendency to increase

* Declaration of Pope Felix in Georgius, Vita Nicolai V. p. 65.

the preponderance of the secular power, and the independence of individual states.

And now the pope was once more the object of the highest reverence and of universal obedience. The emperor still continued to lead his palfrey. There were bishops, not only in Hungary but in Germany, who subscribed themselves, "by the grace of the apostolic see." * In the north the Peter's penny was regularly levied. At the jubilee of the year 1450, countless pilgrims from all lands sought the steps of the apostles. An eye witness describes them as coming like swarms of bees or flights of migratory birds.

Yet, spite of all these appearances, the old relations no longer existed. In proof of this we need only call to mind the fervent zeal which characterized the early crusades, and compare it with the lukewarmness with which in the fifteenth century, every exhortation to a general combined resistance to the Turks was received. How much more urgent was it to defend their own borders against a danger which was imminent on every side, than to know that the holy sepulchre was in Christian hands! Æneas Sylvius in the diet, and the Minorite Capistrano in the market-places of cities, used all their eloquence, and we are told much of the impression they made; but we do not find that anybody took up arms in consequence. What efforts were made by the popes! One fitted out a fleet; another, Pius II.

* Constance, Schwerin, Fünfkirchen. Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte, vol. xxxiii. p. 60.

(the same *Æneas Sylvius*), repaired, feeble and sick as he was, to the port where the princes most immediately menaced by the Turks—if no others—were to meet. He insisted on being there, “that he might, like Moses, raise his hands to God during the battle, as he alone had authority to do.” But neither exhortations, nor prayers, nor examples could move his contemporaries. The youthful ardour of chivalrous Christianity was extinct; it was not in the power of any pope to rekindle it.

Other interests agitated the world. It was the period at which the kingdoms of Europe acquired compactness and solidity. The central power succeeded in subduing the factions which had threatened the security of the throne, and in uniting all classes of its subjects in fresh bonds of obedience. The papacy, which aspired to govern all and to interfere with all, soon came also to be regarded in a political point of view. The pretensions of kings were infinitely higher than they had been at any preceding period. It is common to represent the papal authority as nearly unlimited up to the time of the reformation; but the fact is, that the civil governments had possessed themselves of no small share of ecclesiastical rights and privileges as early as the beginning of the sixteenth, or even the latter part of the fifteenth century.

How greatly did the pragmatic sanction, which for above half a century was regarded in France as the palladium of the kingdom, abridge the exercise of the papal prerogative! It is true that Louis XI. was hurried by that spurious devotion to which he

was the more addicted from his total want of true religion, into concessions on this point; but his successors returned without scruple to their ancient law. When, therefore, Francis I. concluded his concordat with Leo X., it was maintained that the court of Rome had regained its old ascendancy by that measure. And it is true that the pope recovered the annates; but he was obliged to relinquish many other sources of revenue, and above all, he ceded to the king the right of nomination to the bishoprics and other higher benefices. It is undeniable that the Gallican church lost its rights; but far less to the pope than to the king. The principle for which Gregory VII. had set the world in motion, Leo X. abandoned with little difficulty.

Things could not come to this pass in Germany. The Basle decrees, on which, in France, the pragmatic sanction had been formed*, in Germany, where they had also been received, were extremely modified by the Vienna concordat. But even this modification was not obtained without sacrifices on the part of the holy see. In Germany it was not enough to come to an understanding with the head of the empire; it was also necessary to gain over

* We perceive the connexion from the following words of Æneas Sylvius: "Propter decreta Basiliensis concilii inter sedem apostolicam et nationem vestram dissidium cœpit, cum vos illa prorsus tenenda diceretis, apostolica vero sedes omnia rejiceret. Itaque fuit denique compositio facta—per quam aliqua ex decretis concilii prædicti recepta videntur, aliqua rejecta." *Æn. Sylvii Epistola ad Martinum Maierum contra murmur gravaminis Germanicæ nationis*, 1457. In Müller's *Reichstagstheatrum unter Friedrich III.* Vorst. iii. p. 604.

the several states. The archbishops of Mayence and Treves acquired the right of nomination to the vacant benefices, even during the months reserved for the pope; the elector of Brandenburg, the privilege of disposing of the three bishoprics in his dominions; even less considerable states, such as Strasburg, Salzburg, and Metz, obtained concessions.* Yet even these failed to allay the universal spirit of opposition. In the year 1487 the whole empire successfully resisted a tithe which the pope tried to impose.† In the year 1500 the imperial government granted to the pope's legate only a third of the product of the preachings or indulgences; the other two thirds it took and appropriated to the Turkish war.

England, without any new concordat, without pragmatic sanction, far outwent the concessions of Constance. Henry VII. possessed the undisputed right of nominating candidates to the episcopal sees. He was not satisfied with bestowing all clerical promotions, he also appropriated to himself the half of the annates. When, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., Wolsey obtained the dignity of legate in addition to his other offices, the temporal and spiritual powers were, to a certain extent, united in his person; and before protestantism was thought of by the English people, the property of many monasteries had been violently confiscated.

Meanwhile the nations and kingdoms of the

* Schröckh's Kirchengeschichte, vol. xxxii. p. 173. Eichhorn Staats- und Rechts-geschichte, vol. iii. § 472. n. c.

† Müller's Reichstagstheatrum, Vorst. vi. p. 130.

south were not behindhand. The kings of Spain had also the right of nomination to the bishops' sees. The crown to which the Grand-masterships of the religious orders were united, which had established and still directed the Inquisition, enjoyed a number of spiritual attributes and privileges. Ferdinand the Catholic not unfrequently opposed the papal functionaries. The Portuguese ecclesiastical orders of knighthood of St. Iago, Avis and the order of Christ, on which the property of the Templars had devolved, were, no less than the Spanish, under the patronage of the crown.* King Emanuel demanded of Leo X., not only the third part of the *Cruciata*, but also the tenth of the ecclesiastical property, with the express right to distribute it according to his good pleasure, and to his opinion of the merits of the claimants.

In short, throughout all Christendom, in the south as well as in the north, a general struggle was made to curtail the rights of the pope. It was more especially to a share of the ecclesiastical revenues and the nomination to ecclesiastical benefices and offices, that the several governments laid claim. The popes made no serious resistance. They tried to preserve all they could; on other points they gave way. Lorenzo de' Medici, speaking of Ferdinand king of Naples, and of a dispute which he had with the see of Rome, says, "He will

* *Instruttione piena delle cose di Portogallo al Coadjutor di Bergamo: nuntio destinato in Portogallo.* MS. of the *Informationi politiche* in the Royal Library at Berlin, tom. xii. Leo X. granted this patronage of the ecclesiastical orders: contentandosi il re di pagare grandissima compositione di detto patronato.

make no difficulty about promising ; as to the fulfilment of his promises, he will experience the indulgence at last which all popes have had for all kings.”* For this spirit of opposition had found its way even into Italy. We are informed by Lorenzo de’ Medici, that in this he followed the example of greater potentates ; he obeyed the pope’s commands just so far as he had a mind, and no further.†

It were an error to see in these facts only manifestations of a contemporaneous caprice and wilfulness. The ecclesiastical spirit had ceased to pervade and direct the whole existence of the nations of Europe, as it had done in earlier times.

The development of national character and national institutions, the progress of civilization, now exercised a mighty and conspicuous influence. The relation between the spiritual and temporal powers necessarily underwent a complete revolution ; nor was the change in the popes themselves less remarkable.

* Lorenzo to Johannes de Lanfredinis. Fabroni Vita Laurentii Medici, ii. p. 362.

† Antonius Gallus de rebus Genuensibus : Muratori Scriptt. R. It. xxiii. p. 281. says of Lorenzo : “ Regum majorumque principum contumacem licentiam adversus Romanam ecclesiam sequebatur de juribus pontificis, nisi quod ei videretur nihil permittens.”

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL
STATES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. EXTENSION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

WHATEVER may be the opinion we form of the popes of the earlier ages of the church, we must admit that they had always great interests in view: the guardianship of an oppressed religion, the conflict with paganism, the diffusion of Christianity over the nations of the North, the foundation of an independent hierarchical power. The ability to conceive, to will and to accomplish some great object, is among the qualities which confer the greatest dignity on man; and this it was that sustained the popes in their lofty course. But these tendencies had passed away with the times to which they belonged. Schism was at an end; the attempt to stir men to a general rising against the Turks was evidently hopeless. It followed that the head of the church pursued the interests of his temporal sovereignty with greater ardour and pertinacity than heretofore, and devoted all his activity to their advancement.

For some time things had strongly tended this way. "Formerly," said an orator in the council of Basle, "I was of opinion that it would be well

to separate the temporal entirely from the spiritual power; but I have learned that virtue without force is ludicrous—that the pope of Rome, without the hereditary possessions of the Church, is only the servant of kings and princes.” This orator, who had sufficient influence in the council to determine the election of pope Felix, does not think it so much amiss that a pope should have sons to take his part against tyrants.*

This matter was, at a later period, viewed in a different light in Italy. It was thought in the regular order of things that a pope should promote and provide for his family; people would have despised one who did not. “Others,” writes Lorenzo de’ Medici to Innocent VIII., “have not so long deferred their endeavour to be popes, and have troubled themselves little about the decorum and modesty which your holiness has for so long a time observed. Your holiness is now not only excused in the sight of God and man, but men may perhaps even censure this reserved demeanour, and ascribe it to other motives. My zeal and duty render it a matter of conscience with me to remind your holiness that no man is immortal; that a pope is of the importance which he chooses to give himself; he cannot make his dignity hereditary; the honours and the benefits he confers on those belonging to him are all that he can call his own.”† Such

* Extract from this discourse in Schröckh, vol. xxxii. p. 90.

† A letter by Lorenzo, without date, but probably of the year 1489, since the fifth year of Innocent VIII. is mentioned in it. Fabroni Vita Laurentii, ii. 390.

was the advice of him who was regarded as the wisest man in Italy. It is true, he had an interest in the matter, for his daughter was married to a son of the pope. But he would never have ventured to express himself so unreservedly, had not these views been notoriously prevalent among the higher classes.

Two facts here engage our attention, between which there exists a profound but not obvious connexion; the governments of Europe were stripping the pope of a portion of his privileges, while at the same time the latter began to occupy himself exclusively with worldly concerns. He felt himself, above all, an Italian prince. It was not long since the Florentines had defeated their neighbours, and the Medici had established their power over both. The power of the Sforzas in Milan, of the house of Aragon in Naples, of the Venetians in Lombardy, had all been acquired and established within the memory of man. Might not the pope reasonably hope to found, in the domains which were regarded as the hereditary property of the Church, but which were actually governed by a number of independent rulers, a still mightier personal domination?

The first who, with deliberate purpose and permanent effect, acted upon this idea was Sixtus IV. Alexander VI. pursued it with the utmost vigour and with singular success. Julius II. gave it an unexpected turn, which it retained.

Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) conceived the plan of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo

Riario in the rich and beautiful plains of Romagna. The other powers of Italy were already contending for possession, or for ascendancy, in these territories, and, if there was any question of right, the pope had manifestly a better right than any other. But he was not nearly their equal in force, or in the resources of war. He was restrained by no scruple from rendering his spiritual power (elevated by its nature and purpose above all earthly interests) subservient to his worldly views, or from debasing it by a mixture with those temporary intrigues in which his ambition had involved him. The Medici being peculiarly in his way, he took part in the Florentine troubles; and, as is notorious, brought upon himself the suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and to the assassination which they perpetrated on the steps of the altar of the cathedral; the suspicion that he, the father of the faithful, was an accomplice of such acts!

When the Venetians ceased to favour the schemes of his nephew, as they had done for a considerable time, the pope was not satisfied with deserting them in a war into which he himself had driven them; he went so far as to excommunicate them for persisting in it.* He acted with no less

* In 1829, the *Commentarii di Marino Sanuto* on the Ferrarese war were printed at Venice; p. 56, he touches on the defection of the pope. He refers to the speech of the Venetian ambassador. "Tutti vedranno, aver noi cominciato questa guerra di volontà del Papa; egli però si mosse a rompere la lega."

violence in Rome : he persecuted the opponents of Riario, the Colonnas, with savage ferocity : he seized Marino from them ; he caused the prothonotary Colonna to be attacked, arrested and executed in his own house. The mother of Colonna came to San Celso in Banchi, where the body lay—she lifted the severed head by the hair, and cried, “ Behold the head of my son ! Such is the faith of the pope. He promised that if we would give up Marino to him, he would set my son at liberty ; he has Marino : and my son is in our hands—but dead ! Behold, thus does the pope keep his word ! ”*

So much was necessary to enable Sixtus IV. to obtain the victory over his enemies, at home and abroad. He succeeded in making his nephew lord of Imola and Forlì ; but it is certain that if his temporal dignity was much augmented, his spiritual suffered infinitely more. An attempt was made to assemble a council against him.

Meanwhile Sixtus was destined soon to be far outdone. Alexander VI. ascended the papal throne shortly after him (1492).

Alexander’s great aim during the whole course of his life had been to gratify to the utmost his love of ease, his sensuality and his ambition. The possession of the highest spiritual dignity seemed to him the summit of felicity. Old as he was, he seemed daily to grow younger under the influence of this feeling. No importunate thought troubled

* Alegretto Alegretti : diari Sanesi, p. 817. (See App. No. 2.)

his repose for a night. He only pondered on what could be of advantage to himself, how he could advance his sons to dignity and power; no other considerations ever seriously occupied his mind.*

His political connexions, which have exercised so great an influence on the affairs of the world, were founded exclusively on this basis. The question how a pope should marry, provide for, and establish his children, affected the politics of all Europe.

His son, Cæsar Borgia, trod in the footsteps of Riario. He started from the same point; indeed his first exploit was to drive Riario's widow out of Forli and Imola. With daring recklessness he pressed onwards; what his predecessor had only attempted, he achieved. The means by which he accomplished his purposes may be described in few words. The states of the Church had hitherto been divided by the two parties, the Guelfs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Orsini families. Alexander and his son, like the other popes, like Sixtus IV., allied themselves at first with the one party—the Orsini-Guelfic. By means of this alliance they soon succeeded in subduing all their enemies. They drove the Sforzas out of Pesaro, the Malatestas out of Rimini, the Manfredi out of Faenza. They took possession of these important well-fortified cities, and made them the seat of a considerable power. Hardly, however, had they

* *Relazione di Polo Capello, 1500, (MS.) (See App. No. 3.)*

reached this point, hardly had they crushed their enemies, when they turned their arms against their friends. Herein lay the great difference between the power of the Borgias and that of any of their predecessors, who had never been able to shake off the trammels of the party to which they had attached themselves. Cæsar turned his arms against his allies with very little hesitation. He entangled the duke of Urbino, who had been one of his constant supporters, as in a net, before the duke had the slightest suspicion of his designs. The victim narrowly escaped,—a persecuted fugitive in his own territory.* Vitelli, Baglioni, the heads of the Orsini, determined to show him that at least they could offer some resistance. “It is well,” said he, “to betray those who are masters of all treachery.” He enticed them into his snares with deliberate and far-calculated cruelty, and put them to death without pity. After he had thus extinguished both parties he assumed their place, drew around him the nobles of inferior rank, and took them into his pay. He ruled the countries he had conquered with stern and terrible sway.

Alexander thus saw his warmest wishes fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house about to found a great hereditary power in Italy. But already he had begun to feel of what excesses hot

* In the great MS. Chronicle of Sanuto many remarkable notices concerning Cesare Borgia are found throughout the fourth volume; also some letters from him; one to Venice, Dec. 1502; one to the pope; in the last he subscribes himself “*Vrae Stis humilissimus servus et devotissima factura.*”

and unbridled passions are capable. Cæsar would share his power neither with kinsman nor favourite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the Tiber. His brother-in-law was attacked and stabbed on the steps of the palace by his orders.* The wounded man was nursed by his wife and sisters; the sister cooked his food, in order to secure him from poison, and the pope set a guard before his house to protect his son-in-law from his son: precautions which Cæsar derided. He said, "What is not done by noon, may be done by evening." When the prince was recovering from his wounds, Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out the wife and sister, called an executioner, and ordered the unfortunate prince to be strangled. He used his father as a means to power; otherwise he was utterly regardless of him. He killed Peroto, Alexander's favourite, while clinging to his patron and sheltered by the pontifical mantle. The pope's face was sprinkled with his blood.

There was a moment at which Rome and the papal states were in Cæsar's power. He was a man of the greatest personal beauty; so strong, that at a

* Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telini, MS. Bibl. Barb. N. 1103. enumerates the atrocities of Cesare in the following manner: "Il primo, il fratello che si chiamava lo duca di Gandia, lo fece buttar in fiume; fece ammazzare lo cognato che era figlio del duca di Calabria, era lo più bello giovane che mai si vedesse in Roma; ancora fece ammazzare Vitellozzo della città di Castello et era lo piu valenthuomo che fusse in quel tempo." He calls the Lord of Faenza "lo piu bello figlio del mondo." (See App. No. 9.)

bull-fight he cleft the head of a bull with one stroke; liberal, and not without traits of magnanimity, but voluptuous and sanguinary. Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar wanted money and had enemies; every night murdered bodies were found in the streets. Men lived in seclusion and silence; there was none who did not fear that his turn would come. Those whom force could not reach were taken off by poison.*

There was but one point on earth where such a state of things was possible; that, namely, at which the plenitude of secular power was united to the supreme spiritual jurisdiction. This point was occupied by Cæsar. There is a perfection even in depravity. Many of the sons and nephews of popes attempted similar things, but none ever approached Cæsar's bad eminence: he was a virtuoso in crime.

Was it not one of the primary and most essential tendencies of Christianity to render such a power impossible? And now Christianity itself, and the position of the head of the Christian church, were made subservient to its establishment.

There wanted, indeed, no Luther to prove to the world how diametrically opposed to all Christianity were such principles and actions. At the very time we are speaking of, the complaint arose that

* To the various notices extant on this subject, I have added something from Polo Capello. (See App. No. 3.) When any remarkable deaths occurred, people immediately thought of poisonings by order of the pope. Sanuto says of the death of the cardinal of Verona: *Si judica, sia stato atosicato per tuorli le facultà, perchè avanti el spirasse el papa mandò guardie attorno la caxa.*

the pope prepared the way for antichrist; that he laboured for the coming of the kingdom, not of heaven, but of Satan.*

We shall not follow into its details the history of Alexander. It is but too certain that he once meditated taking off one of the richest of the cardinals by poison: his intended victim however contrived by means of presents, promises, and prayers, to gain over his head cook, and the dish which had been prepared for the cardinal was placed before the pope. He died of the poison he had destined for another.† After his death, the consequences which resulted from his schemes were totally different from those he had contemplated.

Every papal family hoped to establish a lasting sovereignty, but with the life of the pope the power of his descendants invariably ended. They relapsed into the obscurity from which they had emerged. The calmness and indifference with which the Venetians viewed the career of Cæsar Borgia, though in part attributable to other causes, was mainly to be ascribed to this. They judged that it was only a fire of straw, and that after Alexander's death things would return of themselves to their former posture.‡

* A loose sheet, MS. out of Sanuto's chronicle.

† Successo de la Morte di Papa Alessandro. MS. Ibid. (See App. No. 4.)

‡ Priuli Cronaca di Venezia MS. "Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo, che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentinois sarebbe foco di paglia, che poco dura."

In this expectation, however, they were deceived. Alexander's successor evidently desired that his character and conduct should stand in the strongest contrast to those of the Borgias; but to that very cause he owed his power of carrying out all their designs. He arrived at the goal they had aimed at, but by the opposite path. Pope Julius II. enjoyed the inestimable advantage of finding an occasion of satisfying the claims of his family in a peaceful manner. He procured for them the patrimony of Urbino. From that time he could give himself up uninterruptedly to his own peculiar passion, war and conquest; always, however, for the advantage of the church, for the aggrandizement of the holy see. Other popes had sought to gain principalities for their sons and nephews: it was the sole ambition of Julius to enlarge the states of the church. He is therefore entitled to be considered their founder.

He found the whole territory in the utmost disorder. All the fugitives who had escaped from Cæsar were returned; the Orsini and Colonna, the Vitelli and Baglioni, Varani, Malatesta and Montefeltri; in every part of the country factions had revived; they fought in the very Borgo of Rome. Julius has been compared to the Neptune of Virgil, rising out of the waves with storm-allaying countenance and hushing their tumults.* He had the address to rid himself even of Cæsar Borgia, to get possession of his castles and to seize upon his duke-

* Tomaso Inghirami, in Fea, Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino, p. 57.

dom. He kept in check the less powerful barons, by means which Cæsar had prepared and facilitated ; he was careful not to give them leaders, in cardinals whose ambition might stir up their old insubordination.* The more powerful, who refused obedience to him, he attacked without hesitation. His accession to power sufficed to reduce that Baglione who had once more taken possession of Perugia, within the limits of lawful subjection ; Giovanni Bentivoglio in his extreme old age was compelled to abandon, without resistance, the splendid palace he had erected at Bologna, bearing the inscription wherein he had boasted too soon of his felicity. These two powerful cities acknowledged the immediate sovereignty of the holy see.

But Julius was yet far from the bourn he proposed to himself. The Venetians possessed the greater part of the coast of the papal states. They were not at all disposed to make voluntary cession of them, and in physical force they were far his superiors. He could not conceal from himself that if he attacked them he would excite a movement in Europe, the end of which it would be difficult to foresee. Should he risk it ?

Old as Julius was, worn by all the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune which he had experienced in the course of his long life, by the toils of war

* Machiavelli (*Principe*, c. xi.) is not alone in remarking this. Jovius, *Vita Pompeji Colonnæ*, p. 140, relates, that the Roman barons under Julius II. complained ; *principes urbis familias solito purpurei galeri honore pertinaci pontificum livore privari.*

and exile, enfeebled by intemperance and debauchery, he yet knew not what fear or caution meant. Age had not robbed him of the grand characteristic of vigorous manhood—an indomitable spirit. He cared little for the princes of his time; he thought he towered above them all. He hoped to gain in the tumult of an universal war; his only care was to be always provided with money, so as to be able to seize the favourable moment with all his might: he wanted, as a Venetian aptly said, “to be lord and master of the game of the world.”*

If we inquire what enabled him to assume so commanding an attitude, we shall find that he owed it mainly to the state of public opinion, which permitted him to avow the designs he cherished; indeed not only to avow, but to boast of them. The re-establishment of the states of the church was at that time regarded by the world as a glorious nay even a religious enterprise; all the pope’s measures had this sole object, all his thoughts were animated by this idea, were, if I may use the expression, steeped in it.

He seized the most daring combinations; he risked all to obtain all; he took the field himself

* *Sommario de la relation di Domenigo Trivixan, MS.* “Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo.” (App. No. 6.) There also exists a second relation by Polo Capello, of the date of 1510, whence a few notes are inserted here. (App. No. 5.) Francesco Vettori: *Sommario dell’istoria d’Italia, MS.*, says of him: *Julio più fortunato che prudente e più animoso che forte, ma ambizioso e desideroso di grandezze oltra a modo.* (App. No. 16.)

and made his entry into Mirandola as conqueror over the frozen ditches, through the breach. The most decisive reverses could not move him to yield, but seemed rather to call forth the resources of his bold and inventive spirit.

He was successful. Not only did he wrest their strongholds from the Venetians, but in the hot struggle which this excited, he at length gained possession of Parma, Piacenza and even Reggio, and founded a power such as no pope had ever attained to. He was master of all the beautiful region between Piacenza and Terracina. He endeavoured everywhere to appear as a liberator; he treated his new subjects wisely and well, and secured their attachment and fidelity. The rest of the world saw, not without alarm, so many warlike populations in allegiance to the pope. "Formerly," says Macchiavel, "no baron was so insignificant as not to despise the papal power; now, a king of France stands in awe of it."

§ 2. INTRUSION OF A SECULAR SPIRIT INTO THE CHURCH.

It was obviously impossible that the entire institution of the church should not partake of the character and inclination of its head; that it should not co-operate to give activity and effect to his designs, or that it should not be reacted upon by the very results to which it contributed.

Not only the most exalted posts in the church, but all, from the highest to the lowest, were regarded as secular property. The pope nominated cardinals from personal favour, or to please some prince, or, not unfrequently, for direct payment in money. Was it rational to expect that men so chosen could fulfil their spiritual duties? Sixtus IV. gave one of the most important offices, the Penitentiaria, (which involved a large portion of the power of granting dispensations) to one of his nephews, at the same time extending its privileges. He issued a bull for the express purpose of enforcing them, in which he calls all who should doubt of the justice of such measures, a stiff-necked generation and children of iniquity.* It followed of course that the nephew regarded his office as a benefice, the revenues of which he was at liberty to raise to the highest possible pitch.

At this period the greater number of bishoprics already conferred a large share of secular power; they were granted as sinecures, from family considerations or court favour. The Roman Curia sought only to extract the greatest possible profit from the vacancies and appointments. Alexander took double annates and levied double and triple tithes. Almost everything was put up to sale; the taxes of the papal chancery rose from day to

* Bull of the 9th of May 1484. *Quoniam nonnulli iniquitatis filii elationis et pertinaciæ suæ spiritu assumpto potestatem majoris penitentiarii nostri—in dubium revocare—præsumunt,—deceat nos adversus tales adhibere remedia, etc.* Bullarium Romanum, ed. Cocquelines, iii. p. 187.

day ; it was the duty of the director to remove causes of complaint, but he generally left the revision to the very men who had fixed the amount of the taxes.* Every mark of favour which the office of the Dataria granted was paid for beforehand with a fixed sum. The disputes between the potentates of Europe and the Curia generally arose entirely out of these contributions, which the court of Rome strove to increase, and every country to reduce, as much as possible.

The nominees of such a system were, down to the very lowest class, of necessity actuated by the same motives. Men renounced their bishoprics indeed, but retained the greater part of their revenues, and sometimes even the collation to the dependent benefices. Even the laws enacting that no son of an ecclesiastic should inherit his father's living, that no priest should bequeath his living by will, were evaded. As every man, by dint of money, could obtain as coadjutor whomsoever he pleased, benefices became, in fact and practice, hereditary. The natural result was, that the performance of religious duties was in general completely neglected. In this brief statement I shall confine myself to the remarks made by well-intentioned prelates of the court of Rome itself. "What a sight," exclaimed they, "for a Christian

* *Reformationes cancellariæ apostolicæ S^{mi} Dⁿⁱ N^{ri} Pauli III.* 1540. MS. in the Barberini Library at Rome, Num. 2275., enumerates every abuse which had crept in since the time of Sixtus and Alexander. The grievances of the German nation relate more particularly to these "new contrivances" and offices of the Romish chancery. § 14. § 38.

who traverses the Christian world, is this desolation of the church ! The shepherds have all deserted their flocks, and have left them to hirelings.” *

In all places inefficient and unfit men, without examination, without election, were raised to the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. As the possessors of livings were only intent on procuring substitutes at the lowest salaries, they found among the mendicant friars men most suited to their purposes. Under the title (unheard-of in this sense) of suffragans, they had possession of bishopricks ; under that of vicars, of benefices.

The mendicant orders already possessed extraordinary privileges, which had been augmented by Sixtus IV., himself a Franciscan. The right of hearing confession, of administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, of giving extreme unction, of burying in the ground, and even in the habit, of the order,—rights which conferred both consideration and profit, he had granted to them in all their extent ; and had threatened the parish priests who were refractory and troubled the orders (especially as to successions) with loss of their benefices.†

* *Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda ecclesia* S^{mo} D^{no} Paulo III. ipso jubente conscriptum, anno 1538; even at that time frequently printed ; and important on this account, that it points out, in a manner to leave no doubt, the root of the evil, so far as it lay in the administration. In Rome, even long after it was printed, this document was still incorporated in the collection of the manuscripts of the Curia.

† *Amplissimæ gratiæ et privilegia fratrum minorum conventualium ordinis S. Francisci, quæ propterea Mare Magnum nuncupantur*, 31 Aug. 1474. *Bullarium Rom.* iii. 3, 139. A

As the latter obtained the administration of bishoprics, and even of parishes, it is clear that the influence they exercised was immense. All the higher situations and more important dignities, all the revenues, were in the hands of the great families, and their dependents, the favourites at princely and papal courts; the real management of church affairs was in the hands of the mendicant friars. In this the popes protected them. The sale of indulgences, which at this time was so amazingly extended, (Alexander VI. being the first who officially declared that they delivered souls out of purgatory) was conducted in part by them. They too were sunk in utter worldliness. What eager grasping for the higher posts! what atrocious schemes for getting rid of opponents or rivals at the time of election! The former were sent out of the way as preachers or as administrators of a distant parish; not only poison, but the dagger or the sword were unscrupulously employed against the latter.* The comforts and privileges of religion were sold. The mendicant monks, whose regular pay was very small, greedily caught at any chance gains. "Alas!" exclaims

similar bull was published for the Dominicans. At the Lateran council of 1512, this *Mare Magnum* occupied much attention; but privileges are more easily given than revoked; at least such was the case at that time.

* In a long report from Caraffa to Clement, which appears only in a state of mutilation in Bromato's *Life of Paul IV.*, it is said in the manuscript of the monasteries: *Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti.* (See App. No. 29.)

one of the prelates of that day, "who are they that make my eyes to be a fountain of tears? Even those set apart have fallen away. The vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. If they went alone to destruction, it were an evil, yet one that might be borne: but as they are spread over all Christendom, like veins through the body, their iniquity must bring with it the ruin of the world."

§ 3. INTELLECTUAL TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

IF the book of history lay open to our view in its authentic reality, if the fleeting forms of speech stood before us in the durability of the works of nature, how often should we discover in the former, as well as in the latter, amidst the decay we mourn over, the fresh and quick germ! how often behold life springing out of death!

However we may deplore the contamination of spiritual things with things of earth, the corruption of the institutions of religion which we have just contemplated, yet, without these evils the human mind could hardly have received one of its most remarkable impulses,—an impulse leading to vast and permanent results.

It cannot be denied, that however ingenious, varied and profound are the productions of the middle ages, they are founded on a fantastic view of the world, little answering to the realities of things. Had the church subsisted in full and conscious power, she would have perpetuated this state

of the human intellect. But in her present condition she allowed the spirit of freedom to unfold itself in a new manner and from a totally different point.

In those ages it was a narrow horizon which circumscribed the minds of men within impassable limits: the revived acquaintance with antiquity was the power that burst these bounds, that opened a higher, more comprehensive, and grander view. Not that the middle ages had been altogether ignorant of the classical writers. The ardour with which the Arabians, from whose intellectual labours so much passed back into southern Europe, collected and appropriated the works of the ancients, did not fall far short of the zeal with which the Italians of the fifteenth century did the same; and caliph Maimud may be compared, in this respect, with Cosmo de' Medici. But let us observe the difference. Unimportant as it may appear, it is in my opinion decisive. The Arabians translated, but at the same time they often destroyed the original. As their own peculiar ideas impregnated the whole of their translations, they turned Aristotle, we might say, into a system of theosophy; they applied astronomy only to astrology, and astrology to medicine; and medicine they diverted to the development of their own fantastic notions of the universe. The Italians, on the other hand, read and learned. From the Romans they advanced to the Greeks; while the art of printing disseminated the original works throughout the world in numberless copies. The genuine, ex-

pelled the Arabian Aristotle. Men studied the sciences in the original, unaltered writings of the ancients; geography in Ptolemy, botany in Dioscorides, the knowledge of medicine in Galen and Hippocrates. How otherwise could mankind be so rapidly emancipated from the imaginations which hitherto had peopled the world, from the prejudices which enslaved the mind? It would however be exaggeration to represent this as the development of an original philosophical spirit; to talk of the discovery of new truths and the utterance of great thoughts. Men sought only to understand the ancients; they did not attempt to surpass them. Their influence was less powerful in stimulating to productive intellectual activity, than in exciting to imitation.

This imitation was pregnant with the most important consequences to the civilization of the world.

Men strove to rival the ancients in their own tongues. Pope Leo X. was an especial promoter of these labours. He read aloud to his own company the well-written introduction to the history of Jovius, and declared that since the time of Livy nothing like it had been written. A lover of Latin improvisation, we may imagine how captivated he was with the talent of Vida, who could describe such things as the game of chess in the stately music of well-cadenced Latin hexameters. He invited to his court a mathematician from Portugal celebrated for expounding his science in elegant Latin. It was so that he wished to see jurisprudence and

theology taught: it was so that he would have had the history of the church written.

But things could not remain stationary at this point. To whatever perfection this direct imitation of the ancients in their own languages was carried, it could not embrace the whole field of intellectual activity. It was essentially inadequate and unsatisfactory, and was too commonly diffused for its defects not to become obvious to many. A new idea sprang up; the imitation of the ancients in the mother tongue. Men felt themselves in the same relation in which the Romans stood to the Greeks; they would no longer contend with them in detail, they would emulate them in an entire body of literature. To this field they rushed with youthful ardour.

Fortunately, just then a general taste arose for the culture and improvement of language. The merit of Bembo, who appeared exactly at the right moment, consists less in his pure and polished Latin, or in his attempts at Italian poetry, than in those well-conceived and successful efforts to give correctness and dignity to his mother tongue, and to construct it after fixed rules, which excited the peculiar admiration of Ariosto. To these rules his experiments only served as examples.

If we take a cursory review of the works formed on the antique pattern out of a material so skillfully adapted, so incomparable for flexibility and harmony, the following considerations press themselves on our attention.

The most rigorous and servile copies were not the

most successful. Tragedies like Ruccellai's *Rosmunda*, which, as the editors say, was framed on the model of the antique; didactic poems, like the *Bees* of the same author, (in which reference is made from the beginning to Virgil, who is used in a thousand ways in the course of the poem,) had no popularity and produced no permanent effect. Comedies were less fettered. Their nature demanded that they should assume the colour and impression of the time; but they were almost always founded on a fable of antiquity, or on some comedy of Plautus*; and even the talents of Bibbiena and Macchiavelli have not been able to secure to their comic works the unqualified admiration of later ages. In other branches of poetry we find a sort of conflict between the ancient and the modern elements of which they are compounded: in Sanzaro's *Arcadia*, for instance, how strangely do the prolix, latanised periods of the prose, contrast with the simplicity, earnestness and music of the verse!

* Amongst much else that is remarkable, Marco Minio gives an account to the Signory of one of the first representations of a play in Rome. He writes on the 13th of March, 1519. (See App. No. 8.) “*Finita dita festa,*” (he speaks of the carnival,) “*se andò ad una comedia che fece el reverend^{mo} Cibo, dove è stato bellissima cosa lo apparato tanto superbo che non si potria dire. La comedia fu questa che fu fenta una Ferrara, e in dita sala fu fata Ferrara preciso come la è. Dicono che Monsignor Rev^{mo} Cibo venendo per Ferrara e volendo una comedia li fu data questa comedia. E sta tratta parte de li Suppositi di Plauto dal Eunuchio di Terenzio molto bellissima.*” He means without doubt the *Suppositi* of Ariosto; but it is to be observed that he does not mention the name of the author, nor the title of the piece, only the sources whence it was taken.

It can be no matter of wonder if, spite of this great advance, success was not complete. At least a great example had been given, a great and most pregnant experiment made ; but the genius of modern literature could not expand its wings with full freedom while bound down by the rules of classical composition. It was under the dominion of laws essentially foreign and inappropriate to its nature.

And indeed how could anything great be achieved by mere imitation ? There is, doubtless, an influence exercised by models, by master works ; but it is the influence of mind on mind. We are now come to the unanimous conviction that the office of beautiful types is to educate, to mould, to stimulate ; but that they ought not enthrall.

The most extraordinary creation necessarily arose, when a genius imbued with the spirit and the tendencies of that age tried its powers in a work departing both in matter and form from the standards of antiquity, and in which their more profound and hidden influences were alone perceptible.

Such was the process which gave birth to the peculiar character of the romantic epic. The poet found a subject already prepared for him in a Christian fable of mingled religious and heroic interest ; the principal figures, drawn in a few broad and strong and general lines, were at his command ; he had ready for his use striking situations, though imperfectly developed ; the form of expression was at hand, it came immediately from the common language of the people. With this was blended the common tendency of the age to ally itself with

antiquity, the humanizing spirit of which moulded and coloured the whole of existence. How different is the Rinaldo of Bojardo—noble, modest, full of joyous gallantry—from the terrible son of Aimon, of the ancient romance! How is the violent, the monstrous, the gigantic, of the old conception subdued to the comprehensible, the attractive, the captivating! The old tales have something engaging and delightful in their simplicity; but how different is the pleasure of abandoning oneself to the harmony of Ariosto's stanzas, and hurrying on from scene to scene, in the companionship of a frank and accomplished mind! The lovely and the shapeless has moulded itself into a distinct outline—into form and music.*

It has been the exclusive privilege of a few favoured and golden ages of the world to conceive and to express pure beauty of form. Such was the end of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century. How were it possible here to give the faintest outline of the entire devotion to art, of the fervid love, the unwearied study of it which then existed? We may confidently assert, that all that is most beautiful in the architecture, sculpture, or painting of modern art falls within this brief period. It was the tendency of the times; not in speculation and argument, but in practice and in application. In that, men lived and moved. I may even assert, that the fortress which the prince erected to ward off his enemy, the note which the commentator inscribed

* I have endeavoured to work out this subject in a separate disquisition, which I delivered at the Royal Academy of Sciences.

on the margin of his author, have somewhat of the common character. The same spirit of severe beauty lies at the bottom of every production of that age.

At the same time we must not omit to notice, that while poetry and art had seized upon the religious element, they had not left its character unaffected by the alliance. The romantic epic, which is founded on legends of the church, is generally in complete opposition to its primitive spirit. Ariosto found it necessary to remove from his fable the back-ground which contains its original meaning.

At an earlier period religion had as large a share in all the works of the painter and the sculptor as art. From the time that art was touched by the breath of antiquity, she lost her profound attachment to the types consecrated and adopted by faith ; a change which may be distinctly traced from year to year, even in the works of Raffaello. People may censure it if they will ; but it seems not the less true, that an admixture of the profane element was necessary to the full development and bloom of art.

Was it not a most significant fact, that a pope should himself conceive the project of pulling down the ancient basilica of St. Peter, the metropolis of Christendom, every spot of which was consecrated, in which monuments of the piety of so many centuries were collected, and of erecting in its stead a temple on the model of those of antiquity ? It was a purely artistical project. The two factions which then divided the world of artists, so easily moved to jealousy and contention, united to persuade

Julius II. to this undertaking. Michael Angelo wished to have a building worthy to contain the tomb of the pope, which he intended to execute with all the sublimity and grandeur that characterize his Moses. Bramante was yet more urgent. He wanted to put in execution the bold idea of raising a copy of the Pantheon as vast as the original, on colossal pillars. Many cardinals remonstrated, and it appears that the plan was generally unpopular. So many personal recollections and affections cling to every old church ; how much more then to this chief temple of Christendom ! * But Julius II. was not wont to give heed to opposition. Without further hesitation he caused half of the old church to be pulled down, and laid the foundation-stone of the new one himself.

Thus, in the very centre of Christian worship arose once more the forms in which the spirit of the antique rites had found such an apt expression. At San Pietro, in Montorio, on the spot which had been sprinkled by the blood of the martyr, Bramante built a chapel in the light and cheerful form of a Peripteros.

If this involve a contradiction, it was identical

* Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaello*, p. 41, gives the following passage from the unprinted work of Panvinus, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus et de præstantia basilicæ S. Petri Apostolorum Principis*, &c. “ *Qua in re, (i. e. the project of the new building,) adversos pene habuit cunctorum ordinum homines et præsertim cardinales ; non quod novam non cuperent basilicam magnificentissimam extrui, sed quia antiquam toto terrarum orbe venerabilem, tot sanctorum sepulcris augustissimam, tot celeberrimis in ea gestis insignem, funditus deleri ingemiscant.*”

with that which displayed itself at the same period in the whole condition and frame of society.

Men went to the Vatican, less to pray on the steps of the apostles, than to admire the master-pieces of antique art, the Belvedere Apollo and the Laocoon, in the pope's dwelling. The pope was indeed, then as formerly, urged to set on foot a war against the infidels (as I find for example in a Preface of Navagero*); but it was not the interests of Christianity that occupied the writer's thoughts; his hope was, that the pope would find the lost writings of the Greeks, and perhaps even of the Romans.

In the midst of this full tide of study and of production, of intellect and of art, Leo X. lived in the enjoyment of the growing temporal power attached to the highest spiritual dignity. His claim to the honour of giving his name to this age has been disputed, and perhaps he owed it less to merit than to fortune. He had grown up in the elements which formed the world around him, and he possessed sufficient freedom from prejudice, and susceptibility of mind to foster and to enjoy its glories. If he had a peculiar delight in the Latin writings of direct imitators, he could not withhold his interest from the original works of his contemporaries. In his presence the first tragedy was acted, and even (spite of the objections to a play imitated from Plautus) the first comedy in the Italian language. There is scarcely one of which he did not witness the first representation. Ariosto was

* Naugerii Præfatio in Ciceronis Orationes, t. 1.

one of the acquaintances of his youth, Macchiavelli wrote several things expressly for him. For him Raffaele filled chambers, galleries, and chapels with human beauty raised to ideal perfection and with life in its purest expression. He had a passionate love of music, which just then began to be cultivated throughout Italy in a more scientific manner. The walls of the palace daily echoed with the sounds of music; the pope was heard to hum the melodies that had delighted him. It may be that this is a sort of intellectual sensuality; if so, it is at least the only sensuality becoming a human being.

Leo X. was full of kindness and sympathy: he rarely refused a request, or if he did, it was in the gentlest manner, and only when it was impossible to grant it. "He is a good man," says an observing ambassador to his court, "very bounteous and of a kindly nature; if he were not under the influence of his kinsmen he would avoid all errors."*

"He is learned," says another, "and a lover of learned men; religious, but yet disposed to enjoy life."† He did not indeed always maintain the decorum befitting a pope: sometimes, to the despair of his master of the ceremonies, he quitted Rome not only without a surplice, but even, as the distressed functionary observes in his diary, "what is the most vexatious, with boots on his feet." He

* Zorzi "Per il papa, non voria ni guerra ni fatiche, ma questi soi lo intriga." (See App. No. 7.)

† Marco Minio: Relazione. "E docto e amador di docti, ben religioso, ma vol viver." He calls him "bona persona." (See App. No. 8.)

spent the autumn in rural pleasures ; he took the diversion of hawking at Viterbo, of stag-hunting at Corneto, and of fishing on the lake of Bolsena, after which he passed some time at his favourite seat at Malliana, where he was accompanied by men of those light and supple talents which enliven every passing hour, such as improvisatori. In the winter he returned to the city, which was in the highest state of prosperity. The number of inhabitants increased a third in a few years : manufactures found their profit—art, honour—every one security. Never was the court more lively, more agreeable, more intellectual ; no expenditure was too great to be lavished on religious and secular festivals, on amusements and theatres, on presents and marks of favour. It was heard with pleasure that Giuliano Medici, with his young wife, thought of making Rome his residence. “ Praised be God ! ” Cardinal Bibbiena writes to him ; “ the only thing we want is a court with ladies.”

The debauchery of Alexander VI. must ever be contemplated with loathing. Leo’s gay and graceful court was not in itself deserving of censure ; yet it is impossible to deny that it was little answerable to the character and position of the head of the church. These incongruities were not obvious during his lifetime ; but when they afterwards came to be compared and considered, they could not fail to strike all men.

In such a state of things, genuine christian-mindedness and faith were out of the question ; there arose indeed a direct opposition to them.

The schools of philosophy were divided on the question whether the soul was really immaterial and immortal, but one spirit, diffused through all mankind, or whether it was merely mortal. The most distinguished philosopher of that day, Pietro Pomponazzo, declared himself the champion of the latter opinion: he compared himself to Prometheus, whose vitals were preyed upon by a vulture for having stolen fire from heaven; but with all his painful toil, with all his acuteness, he arrived at no other result than this, "that when the legislator decreed that the soul was immortal, he had done so without troubling himself about the truth."* It must not be supposed that these opinions were confined to a few, or held in secret; Erasmus expresses his astonishment at the blasphemies he heard. An attempt was made to prove to him, a foreigner, out of Pliny, that there was no difference between the souls of men and of beasts.†

* Pomponazzo was earnestly attacked on this point, as appears in passages extracted from letters of the popes by Contelori and elsewhere. Petrus de Mantua, it is there said, "*asseruit, quod anima rationalis secundum propria philosophiæ et mentem Aristotelis sit seu videatur mortalis, contra determinationem concilii Lateranensis: Papa mandat ut dictus Petrus revocet: alias contra ipsum procedatur.*" 13 Junii, 1518.

† Burigny: Life of Erasmus, I. 139. I will here also quote the following passage from Paul Canensius in the *Vita Pauli II.* "*Pari quoque diligentia e medio Romanæ curiæ nefandam nonnullorum juvenum sectam scelestamque opinionem substulit, qui depravatis moribus asserebant, nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibusdam sanctorum astutiis quam veris rerum testimoniis subsistere.*" The *Triumph of Charlemagne*, a poem by Ludovici, breathes a spirit of thorough materialism, as we see from the quotations by Daru in the 40th book of the *Histoire de Venise*.

While the common people sank into an almost pagan superstition, and looked for salvation to mere ceremonial practices, the opinions of the upper classes were of an anti-religious tendency.

How astonished was the youthful Luther when he visited Italy! At the very moment that the sacrifice of the mass was finished, the priests uttered words of blasphemy which denied its efficacy. It was the tone of good society in Rome to question the evidences of Christianity. "No one passed" (says P. Ant. Bandino*) "for an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity; at the court the ordinances of the catholic church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised."

Thus every thing has its place in the chain of events; one event, or one state of opinion, calls forth another: the ecclesiastical claims of princes excite the temporal claims of the pope; the decay of religious institutions produces the development of a new tendency of the human mind; till at length the very grounds of belief are assailed by public opinion.

§ 4. OPPOSITION TO THE PAPACY IN GERMANY.

The relation in which Germany stood to the state and progress of opinion we have just been contem-

* MS. of Paul IV. In Caracciolo's Life, "In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinion erronea ed heretica." (See App. No. 9.)

plating, appears to me singularly worthy of notice. She took part in it, but in a spirit and manner entirely different.

While Italy had produced poets, like Boccaccio and Petrarch, who excited in the nation a taste for classical literature, in Germany the study of the ancients originated in a religious brotherhood, the Hieronymites; a community bound together by a life of laborious study, and retirement from the world. It was in the school of one of its members, the profound and blameless mystic Thomas à Kempis, that all those venerable men were formed, who were attracted to Italy by the new light which broke from ancient literature, and returned to diffuse it over Germany.*

As the beginning differed, so likewise did the progress.

In Italy men studied the works of the ancients as a means to the acquisition of sciences; in Germany they used them as elementary books. There, they sought the solution of the highest problems that can engage the human mind, if not as independent thinkers, yet under the guidance of the ancients; here, the best books were devoted to the instruction of youth. In Italy men were captivated by the beauty of form, and their first essays were imitations of the ancients; they succeeded, as we have shown, in creating a national

* Meiners has the merit of having been the first to bring to light this genealogy from the *Daventria Illustrata* of Revius. *Lives of celebrated men belonging to the æra of the revival of letters*, ii. 308.

literature. In Germany these studies took a religious direction : the names of Reuchlin and Erasmus are well known. If we inquire wherein consists the highest merit of the former, we shall find that he was the first writer of a Hebrew grammar, a monument of which he hoped, as confidently as the Italian poets did of their works, " that it would be more durable than brass." As he opened the way to the study of the Old Testament, Erasmus devoted his attention to the New. He first printed it in Greek ; his paraphrase and commentaries upon it have had an effect far exceeding even his own expectations.

Whilst, in Italy, the public mind was alienated from the church, and even hostile to it, a somewhat similar state of things prevailed in Germany. There, that freedom of thought which can never be wholly suppressed, found its way into the world of letters, and in some cases amounted to decided infidelity. A more profound religious system, springing from mysterious sources, though rejected by the church, had never been eradicated ; this formed part of the literary movement of Germany. In this point of view I think it remarkable, that as early as the year 1513, the Bohemian brethren made advances to Erasmus, the turn of whose mind and opinions was so totally different from their own.* And thus on either side of the Alps the progress of the age was in a direction hostile to the ascendancy of the church. On the one side, it was

* Füsslin ; Kirchen und Ketzergeschichte, ii. 82.

connected with science and literature ; on the other, it arose out of biblical learning and a more profound theology. There, it was negative and unbelieving ; here, positive and believing. There, it sapped the very foundations of the church ; here, it laboured to build it up anew. There, it was ironical, sarcastic, and obsequious to power ; here, it was earnest and indignant, and girded itself up to the most daring assault that the church of Rome had ever sustained.

It has been represented as matter of accident that this was first directed against the abuses which attended the sale of indulgences ; but as the alienation of the most profoundly spiritual of all gifts (which was involved in the system of indulgences) was the most striking symptom of the disease pervading the whole body—the intrusion of worldliness into religious things—it ran most violently counter to the ideas entertained by the earnest and spiritual German theologians. To a man like Luther, whose religion was one of inward experience, who was filled with the ideas of sin and justification which had been propounded by German theologians before his time, and confirmed in them by the study of the Scriptures which he had drunk in with a thirsting heart, nothing could be so shocking as the sale of indulgences. Forgiveness of sins to be had for money, must be the most deeply offensive to him whose consciousness of the eternal relation between God and man sprang from this very point, and who had learned to understand the Scriptures for himself.

He certainly began his opposition to the church of Rome by denouncing this particular abuse ; but the ill-founded and prejudiced resistance which he experienced led him on step by step. He was not long in discovering the connexion which existed between this monstrous practice and the general corruption of the church. His was not a nature to quail before the last extremity ; he attacked the head of the church himself with dauntless intrepidity. From the midst of the most devoted adherents and champions of papacy, the mendicant friars, arose the boldest and most powerful assailant it had ever encountered. Luther, with singular acuteness and perspicacity, held up to view the principle from which the power originally based upon it had so widely departed ; he gave utterance to an universal conviction ; his opposition, which had not yet unfolded all those positive results with which it was pregnant, was pleasing to unbelievers, and yet, while it attracted them, satisfied the earnestness of believers : hence his writings produced an incalculable effect ; in a moment Germany and the world were filled with them.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE: ITS CONNEXION
WITH THE REFORMATION.

THE worldly character which the papacy had assumed, the ambition and aggrandisement of the see of Rome, had produced two movements in society. The one was religious; already that falling away from the church had commenced which was big with such boundless results: the other political; the elements which had been brought into conflict were still in the most violent fermentation, out of which a new order of things was destined to arise. These two movements, their effects on each other, the contests which they excited, for centuries determined the history of the papacy.

Never let a sovereign or a state imagine that any good can befall them which they do not owe to themselves, which they have not won by their own exertions.

The Italian powers, by calling in the aid of foreign nations to overcome each other, had themselves destroyed that independence, which they

had enjoyed during the fifteenth century, and had held out their country as the common prize of victory. This must in great measure be attributed to the popes. They had unquestionably attained to a power which the Roman see had never before possessed; but they did not owe it to their own exertions. They owed it to the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, the Swiss. But for his alliance with Louis XII., Cæsar Borgia would hardly have been able to accomplish much. Vast and magnificent as were the views of Julius II., heroic as were his acts, he must have succumbed but for the help of the Spaniards and the Swiss. How could it be otherwise than that those who had won the victory should endeavour to profit by the ascendancy which it gave them? Julius II. saw this clearly. His design was to preserve a sort of balance among the other powers, and to make use only of the least formidable, the Swiss, whom he might hope to lead.

But it fell out otherwise. Two great powers arose, who warred, if not for the sovereignty of the world, yet for the supremacy in Europe; each so powerful, that the pope was far from being able to cope with either. They fought out their battle on Italian ground.

First appeared the French. Not long after the accession of Leo X., they marched in greater force than had ever crossed the Alps, to re-conquer Milan. At their head, in the ardour of youthful and chivalrous daring, was Francis I.

Every thing depended on the question whether the Swiss could resist him or not. The battle of Marignano was important because the Swiss were completely defeated, and because, from the time of that defeat, they never again exercised an independent influence in Italy.

The first day, the battle remained undecided, and bonfires were even kindled in Rome in consequence of the report of the success of the Swiss. The earliest tidings of the result of the second day and of the real issue of the battle, were received by the ambassador from Venice, which was in alliance with the king, and had contributed not a little to decide the fortune of the day. At a very early hour in the morning he repaired to the Vatican to communicate the intelligence to the pope, who came half-dressed from his chamber to give him audience. "Yesterday," said the ambassador, "your holiness gave me news which was both bad and false; to day I bring you in return, news which is good and true. The Swiss are beaten." He read letters which he had just received from men known to the pope, and which left no doubt on the subject.* Leo did not conceal his profound alarm. "What then will become of us, what will become even of you?" "We hope all good for both." "Mr. Ambassa-

* *Summario de la relatione di Zorzi.* "E cussi dimisiato venne fuori non compito di vestir. L'orator disse: Pater santo eri v^{ra} sant^a mi dette una cattiva nuova e falsa, io le darò ozi una bona e vera, zoe Sguizari è rotti." The letters were from Pasqualigo, Dandolo and others. (App. No. 7.)

dor," replied the pope, "we must throw ourselves into the king's arms, and cry *Misericordia*."*

The French did, in fact, acquire a decided preponderance in Italy by this battle. Had they followed it up with vigour, neither Tuscany nor the States of the Church, so easily stirred to rebellion, would have been able to make much resistance, and the Spaniards would have found it difficult to maintain themselves in Naples. "The king," said Francesco Vettori, "might become lord of Italy." How much at this crisis depended on Leo!

Lorenzo de' Medici said of his three sons, Julian, Peter, and John, that the first was good, the second a fool, but that the third, John, was prudent. This third was pope Leo X., and he now proved himself equal to the difficult position in which he was placed.

Contrary to the advice of the cardinals he proceeded to Bologna to confer with the king. Here they agreed on the Concordat by which they divided between them the rights of the Gallican church. Leo was likewise compelled to give up Parma and Piacenza; but at length he succeeded in allaying the storm, in prevailing on the king to return, and in retaining undisturbed possession of his territory.† How fortunate this was for him,

* "Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re christ^{mo} se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. Lui, orator, disse: pater sante, vostra santità non avrà mal alcuno."

† Zorzi. "Questo papa è savio e pratico di stato e si pensò con li suoi consultori di venir abocharsi a Bologna con vergogna di la sede (ap.); molti cardinali, tra i qual il cardinal Hadriano, lo disconsejava; pur vi volse andar."

appears from the consequences which immediately ensued upon the mere approach of the French. It is worthy of all remark, that Leo, after his allies had been defeated, and he had been compelled to cede a portion of his dominions, had still power to keep possession of two provinces but just acquired, accustomed to independence, and filled with a thousand elements of insubordination.

He has always been reproached with his attack on Urbino, a princely house, with which his own family had found refuge and hospitality in exile. The cause was, that the duke, being in his pay, had proved faithless to him at the decisive moment. Leo said, if he did not chastise him for it, there would not be a baron in the States of the Church so impotent as not to set himself in revolt against him. He had found the pontificate respected, and he would keep it so.* But as the duke had, at least in secret, assistance from the French, as he found allies throughout the papal states, and even in the college of cardinals, the struggle was a fearful one. It was not easy to repulse so accomplished a soldier as the duke; the pope was sometimes seen to tremble at the bad news he received, and to lose all his self-possession. It is said that a plot was laid to poison him by means of the medicines administered for a

* Franc. Vettori, (*Sommario della storia d'Italia*), an intimate friend of the Medici, gives this explanation. (See App. No. 16.) The defender of Francesco Maria, Giov. Batt. Leoni (*Vita di Francesco Maria*), relates facts which approach very nearly to this. P. 166. et seq.

disease under which he was suffering.* The pope succeeded in defending himself from this enemy, but we see with how much difficulty. The effect of the defeat of his party by the French extended to his capital and even to his palace.

Meanwhile the second great power had acquired strength and consistency. Strange as it seemed that one prince should rule in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragoza, and Naples, and even in another continent, this vast concentration of power had been effected by a chain of domestic events, each link of which was so slight as scarcely to attract the attention of the surrounding states. The elevation of the house of Austria, which united so many different countries under its sway, was one of the greatest and most eventful changes that had befallen Europe. At the moment that the nations severed themselves from the point which had hitherto formed their common centre, they were attracted by political circumstances into a new connexion, and incorporated into a new system. The power of Austria immediately presented itself as a counterpoise to the preponderancy of France. The possession of the imperial dignity conferred on Charles V. lawful claims on the sovereignty of Lombardy at least. This state of Italian affairs was not long in leading to war.

The popes, as we have already remarked, had

* Fea, in the *Notizie intorno Raffaele*, p. 35, has given, from the Acts of the Consistory, the sentence against the three cardinals, which expressly refers to their understanding with Francesco Maria.

hoped, by extending their territory, to acquire absolute independence. They now beheld themselves hemmed in between two far superior powers. A pope was not insignificant enough to be able to remain neuter in the contest between them, nor was he powerful enough to throw a decisive weight into either scale; he must seek safety in a discreet use of events. Leo is reported to have said, that when he had concluded a treaty with the one party, he did not, on that account, cease to negotiate with the other.*

This double policy was the natural consequence of the situation in which he was placed. Leo, however, could hardly entertain any serious doubt to which he ought to attach himself. Even had it not been of infinite importance to him to recover Parma and Piacenza; had not the promise of Charles V. (so entirely to his advantage), that he would place an Italian at Milan, been sufficient to determine him, there was yet another reason, and, as it appears to me, a thoroughly conclusive one. This lay in the state of the church.

During the whole period we are treating of, the princes desired nothing so much in all their disputes and difficulties with the popes, as to excite a spiritual opposition to them. Charles VIII. of France had no more effective ally against Alexander VI. than the Dominican, Geronimo Savonarola of

* Suriano. *Relazione di 1533*. "dicesi del Papa Leone, che quando 'l aveva fatto lega con alcuno prima, soleva dir che pero non si dovea restar de tratar cum lo altro principe opposto." (See App. No. 20.)

Florence. When Louis XII. had given up all hope of reconciliation with Julius II., he called a council at Pisa ; a measure which, though attended with slight success, caused great alarm at Rome. Above all, when did a bolder and more successful enemy to the papacy arise than Luther ? The mere appearance of such an actor on the world's stage was too significant a fact not to invest him with high political importance. In this light it was viewed by Maximilian, who would not suffer any violence to be done to the monk. He recommended him specially to the elector of Saxony—"One might have need of him some time or other:" and from that time Luther's influence increased from day to day. The pope had neither been able to conciliate nor to terrify him, nor to get him into his power. Let it not be imagined that Leo did not appreciate the danger. How often did he try to employ all the talents by which he was surrounded on this arena ! But there was yet another expedient. As, if he declared against the emperor, he had to fear that this alarming opposition would be protected and fostered, so, if he courted his alliance, he might hope for his aid in suppressing religious innovation.

At the diet of Worms in the year 1521, where the religious and political affairs of Europe were discussed, Leo concluded a treaty with Charles V. for the re-conquest of Milan. The outlawry which was proclaimed against Luther bears the same date as this treaty. Other motives might have conspired to prompt this act ; but no one can persuade

himself that it was not intimately connected with the political alliance.

And the twofold consequences of this alliance were not long in manifesting themselves.

Luther was seized on the Wartburg, and kept concealed.* The Italians could not believe that Charles had suffered him to escape, from a conscientious determination not to violate the safe conduct he had granted. "As he saw," say they, "that the pope greatly feared Luther's doctrine, he wished to hold him in check with that rein."† Be this as it may, Luther vanished for a moment from the stage of the world; he was to a certain extent beyond the reach of the law, and the pope had at all events caused decisive measures to be taken against him.

Meanwhile the allied imperial and papal arms were successful in Italy. One of the pope's nearest relations, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the son of his father's brother, took the field in person and accompanied the victorious army into Milan. It was asserted in Rome that the pope destined this duchy for him. I find, however, no conclusive proof of this design, and I think that the emperor would hardly have acceded to it so easily. But, even without

* Luther was thought to be dead; there was a story, that he had been murdered by the papal party. Pallavicini (*Istoria del concilio di Trento* I, c. 28.) infers from the letters of Alexander, that the nuncios had been in danger of their lives on this account.

† Vettori: "Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo che il Papa temeva molto di questa doctrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno." (See App. No. 16.)

this, the advantages to the Holy See were incalculable. Parma and Piacenza were reconquered ; the French driven away ; the pope must of necessity exercise great influence over the new ruler of Milan. It was one of the most eventful crises in history. A new current of political affairs had set in ; a great ecclesiastical movement had begun. It was a moment in which the pope might flatter himself that he would be able to direct the one and to control the other. He was still young enough to hope to turn it to its full account.

Strange, deceitful lot of man ! Leo was at his villa Malliana when the news of the entry of his troops into Milan was brought to him. He gave himself up to the feeling which is wont to accompany the successful termination of an enterprise, and contemplated with pleasure the festivities with which his people were preparing to celebrate his triumph. Up to a late hour in the night he went backwards and forwards from the window to the blazing hearth ;—it was in November.* Somewhat exhausted, but full of joy and exultation, he returned to Rome. The rejoicings for the victory were just ended, when he was attacked by a mortal disease. “ Pray for me,” said he to his attendants ; “ I still make you all happy.” He loved life, but

* Copia di una lettera di Roma alli Sgri. Bolognesi a di 3 Dcbr. 1521, scritta per Bartholomeo Argilelli, in 32nd vol. of Sanuto. The news reached the pope the 24th of November, whilst saying the Benedicite. This also he particularly regarded as a good omen. He said : “ Questa è una buona nuova, che havete portato.” The Swiss immediately began to fire *feus de joie*. The pope sent to beg them to be quiet, but in vain.

his hour was come. He had not time to receive the viaticum, nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so early, so full of high hope, he died "as the poppy fadeth."*

The Roman people could not forgive him for dying without the sacraments, for spending so much money, and for leaving debts. They accompanied his body to the grave with words of reproach and indignity. "You glided in like a fox," said they; "you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog." Posterity, however, has stamped a century, and a great epoch in the advancement of the human race, with his name.†

We have called him fortunate. After he had surmounted the first calamity which befel not only him but other members of his house, his destiny led him on from pleasure to pleasure, from success to success. The adverse circumstances of his life were precisely those which contributed the most to his advancement. His life passed in a sort of intellectual intoxication, and in the unbroken gratification of all his wishes. This was in part the result of his kindly and bountiful nature, his quick and plastic intellect, his ready acknowledgment of merit

* People immediately talked of poison. Lettera di Hieronymo Bon a suo barba a di 5 Dec. in Sanuto, "Non si sa certo se 'l pontefice sia morta di veneno. Fo aperto. Maistro Ferrando judica sia stato venenato; alcuno de li altri no; è di questa opinione Mastro Severino, che lo vide aprire, dice che non è venenato."

† Capitoli di una littera scritta a Roma 21 Debr. 1521. "Concludo che non è morta mai papa cum peggior fama dapoi è la chiesa di Dio."

and gratitude for kindness. These qualities are the fairest endowments of nature, the true gifts of fortune; they can hardly be acquired, yet they affect the whole enjoyment of life. His pleasures were little interrupted by affairs of state. As he did not concern himself with details, and only exercised supervision over the whole, business was not oppressive to him; it only called into action the highest faculties of his mind. It was, perhaps, precisely because he did not devote every day and hour to it, that he was able to deal with it in a large and unfettered spirit; that, in all the perplexities of the moment, he could keep his eye steadily fixed on the one guiding thought which lighted the whole path on which he was about to enter. He himself was ever at the helm, and directed the course of the vessel. In the last moments of his life all the currents of his policy mingled in one full tide of triumph and prosperity. It may be counted among his felicities that he died then. Other times followed; and it is difficult to believe that he could have opposed a successful resistance to their unpropitious influences. The whole weight of them fell on his successors.

The conclave lasted long. "Sirs," said the Cardinal de' Medici, who was alarmed at the return of the enemies of his house to Urbino and Perugia, and trembled for Florence itself; "Sirs, I see that from among us, here assembled, no pope can be

chosen. I have proposed to you three or four, but you have rejected them all: those, on the other hand, whom you propose, I cannot accept. We must seek a pope among those who are not present." The cardinals, assenting to his opinion, asked him whom he had in his mind. "Take," said he, "the cardinal of Tortosa, an aged, venerable man, who is generally esteemed a saint."* This was Adrian of Utrecht†, formerly professor in the university of Louvain, and teacher of Charles V., through whose personal attachment he had risen to the office of governor of Spain, and to the dignity of cardinal. Cardinal Cajetan, who did not belong to the Medicean party, rose to speak in praise of the proposed pope. Who would have thought that the cardinals, hitherto invariably accustomed to consult their own personal interests in the election of a pope, would agree to choose an absent man, a Netherlander, known to very few, and with whom none could hope to make terms for their private advantage? They suffered themselves

* Lettera di Roma a di 19 Zener. in Sanuto. "Medici dubitando de li casi suoi, se la cosa fosse troppo ita in lungo, deliberò mettere conclusione et havendo in animo questo c^{le} Dertusense, per esser imperialissimo disse, etc."

† So he calls himself in a letter of the date of 1514, which we find in Caspar Burmannus: *Adrianus VI. sive analecta historica de Adriano VI.*, p. 443. In original documents belonging to his own country, he is called Master Aryan Florisse of Utrecht. By modern writers he has occasionally been called Boyens, because his father signed himself Floris Boyens; but that means merely Bodewin's son, and is no family name. See Burmannus in the notes to *Moringi Vita Adriani*, p. 2.

to be hurried into this step by the surprise of so unlooked for a proposition. After it was taken, they themselves did not rightly know how they had been led to it. They were half dead with fear, says one of our authorities. It was affirmed that they had for a moment persuaded themselves that he would not accept the office. Pasquin represented the pope as a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as his scholars receiving chastisement at his hands.

It was long since the election had fallen on a man more worthy of his high and holy office. Adrian was of a most spotless fame; upright, pious, industrious; of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, pure intentions; a true minister of religion.* What a contrast, when he entered the city in which Leo had held his prodigal and magnificent court! A letter is extant, in which he says, that he would rather serve God in his priory at Louvain than be pope.† And in

* *Literæ ex Victorial directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco*, in the 33rd Volume of Sanuto, where he is described as follows: "Vir est sui tenax, in concedendo parcissimus: in recipiendo nullus aut rarissimus. In sacrificio cotidianus et matutinus est. Quem amet, aut si quem amet, nulli exploratum. Ira non agitur, jocos non ducitur. Neque ob pontificatum visus est exultasse, quin constat graviter illum ad ejus famam nuntii ingemuisse." In the collection of Burmannus there is an *Itinerarium Adriani* by Ortiz, who accompanied the pope, and was intimately acquainted with him. He asserts, p. 223, that he never remarked any thing in him worthy of blame; that he was a mirror of every virtue.

† Florence Oem Wyngaerden: Vittoria, 15 Febr. 1522, in Burmannus, p. 398.

fact he carried the life and habits of a professor into the Vatican. It is a characteristic trait, which we may be permitted to record, that he brought with him an old woman-servant, who continued to provide for the wants of his household, as she had been accustomed to do. He changed nothing in his manner of living; rose at earliest dawn, said mass, and then proceeded in his accustomed order to business and to study, which were only interrupted by the simplest meal. It cannot be said that he was a stranger to the taste or culture of his age. He loved Flemish art, and valued erudition the more for being tinged with elegance. Erasmus confesses that Adrian was his only defender against the attacks of fanatical schoolmen.* He, however, disapproved the almost pagan tastes and pursuits which were then in fashion at Rome, and of the race of poets he would hear nothing.

No man could more earnestly desire to heal the distempers which he perceived in Christendom than did Adrian VI. (He retained his own name.)

The progress of the Turkish arms, the fall of Belgrade and of Rhodes, made him peculiarly anxious to bring about a peace between the Christian powers. Although he had been the emperor's preceptor, he instantly took up a neutral position. When the war broke out afresh, the imperial am-

* Erasmus says of him in one of his letters: "*Licet scholasticis disciplinis faveret, satis tamen æquus in bonas literas.*" Burm. p. 15. Jovius relates with complacency how much the reputation of a "*scriptor annalium valde elegans*" had done for him with Adrian, particularly as he was no poet.

bassador, who hoped to induce him to make a decisive declaration in favour of his pupil, was obliged to leave Rome without effecting his purpose.* When the news of the conquest of Rhodes was read to him, he remained with his eyes fixed on the ground, uttered not a word, but sighed deeply.† The danger of Hungary was imminent; nor was he without fear even for Italy and for Rome. His efforts were all directed towards the bringing about, if not a peace, yet at least a suspension of hostilities for three years, in order meanwhile to prepare a general expedition against the Turks.

Nor was he less resolved to anticipate the demands of Germany. It was impossible to avow more fully and distinctly than he did the abuses which had crept into the church. "We know," said he, in the instructions to the Nuntio Chieriegato, whom he sent to the diet, "that for a long time many abominations have existed near the holy see; abuses of spiritual things, excess in the exercise of authority; every thing has been turned to evil. From the head the corruption has spread into the members, from the pope to the prelates; we have all gone astray, there is none of us that hath done well; no, not one."

He proceeded to promise all that befitted a good pope; to promote the virtuous and the learned,

* Gradenigo, in his *Relatione*, names the viceroy of Naples, Girolamo Negro, by whom we find some very interesting letters concerning this period in the *Lettere di principi*, vol. 1., says, p. 109, of John Manuel: "Se partì mezo disperato."

† Negro, from the relation of the Venetian Secretary, p. 110.

to eradicate abuses, if not at once, yet by degrees : in short, he gave hopes of that reformation of the head and the members which had been so often demanded.*

But to reform the world is not so light a task. The good intentions of an individual man, stand he never so high, are wholly unequal to it. Abuse strikes too deep a root ; it has grown with the growth, it lives with the life, of the body to which it clings.

The fall of Rhodes was far from moving the French to make peace ; on the contrary, they saw that this loss would furnish fresh occupation to the emperor, and hence conceived greater projects against him. With the privity of the very cardinal in whom Adrian reposed the greatest trust, they established communications with Sicily, and made an attempt on that island. The pope found himself constrained at length to make a treaty with the emperor which was substantially directed against France.

Nor was it any longer possible to satisfy the Germans with what had been formerly called a reformation of the head and the members. And even such a one,—how difficult, how impossible, to achieve !

If the pope wished to suppress the revenues hitherto enjoyed by the Curia, in which he detected an appearance of simony, he could not do so with-

* "*Instructio pro te Francisco Chieriegato*," &c. &c. ; amongst other writers, in Rainaldus, vol. xi. p. 363.

out violating the fairly acquired rights of those whose offices depended on these revenues—offices which they had generally purchased.

If he meditated a change in the dispensations of marriage, and a repeal of certain existing prohibitions, he was met by representations that church discipline would thereby be injured and enfeebled.

In order to check the monstrous abuse of indulgences, he was very desirous of introducing the old penances; but the Penitentiaria remarked to him that he would thus incur the danger of losing Italy while striving to secure Germany.*

At every step, in short, he saw himself beset by a thousand difficulties.

These were aggravated by the circumstances of his birth and nation. He found himself in a new element, which he could not master, because he was not acquainted with it, and did not understand the secret springs of its existence. He had been received with joy. People told each other that he had five thousand vacant benefices to give away, and every one was full of hope. Never however did a pope show himself more cautious in the distribution of places. Adrian insisted on knowing for whom he provided, to whom he committed offices. He went to work with scrupulous conscientiousness.† He disappointed innumerable expecta-

* In the first book of the *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, by P. Sarpi, ed. 1629, p. 23, there is a good exposition of this state of things, extracted from a diary of Chiaregato.

† Ortiz. *Itinerarium*, c. 28, c. 39, particularly worthy of credit,

tions. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the grants of reversions to spiritual dignities, and even revoked those which had already been granted. By publishing this decree in Rome, he could not fail to draw upon himself a host of the bitterest enmities. Hitherto a certain liberty of speech and of writing had been enjoyed in the court; this he would permit no longer. It was thought intolerable, that he, who spent so little, should lay on new taxes to recruit the exhausted treasury, and to provide for the increasing wants of the state. All his measures were unpopular.* He felt this, and it re-acted upon him. He trusted the Italians less than ever. The two Flemings whom he invested with power, Enkefort and Hezius, the one his datarius, the other his secretary, were conversant neither with business nor with the court. It was impossible for him to exercise supervision over them; and as he was constantly occupied with study, and was not very accessible, the whole conduct of affairs was procrastinating, slow, and unskilful.

It thus happened that in circumstances of the greatest general importance, nothing was effected. War broke out afresh in Upper Italy. In Germany, Luther reappeared in fresh activity. In

as he says, "*cum provisiones et alia hujusmodi testis oculatus inspexerim.*"

* *Lettere di Negro. Capitolo del Berni :*

"E quando un segue il libero costume
Di sfogarsi scrivendo e di cantare,
Lo minaccia di far buttare in fiume."

Rome, which was moreover visited by the plague, a universal discontent possessed the minds of men.

Adrian once said ; “Let a man be never so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born !” The whole feeling of his position is expressed in this painful exclamation. It was fitly inscribed on his monument in the German church at Rome.

It ought at least not to be ascribed solely to the personal character of Adrian, if his times were so barren in results. The papacy was assailed by vast and resistless demands, which would have imposed a task of infinite difficulty on a man far more expert in affairs, far more familiar with men and with expedients, than he was.

Among all the cardinals there was none who appeared more fitted to conduct the administration of the papacy, more able to support the burthen it imposed, than Giulio de’ Medici. Under Leo he had had the management of the greater part of public business, and indeed of all the details : even under Adrian he had preserved a certain influence.* He did not suffer the highest dignity a second time to escape him.

The new pope, who took the name of Clement VII., most carefully avoided the errors and abuses which had marked the reigns of his two predecessors ; the uncertainty and prodigality, the indeco-

* *Relatione di Marco Foscari, 1526* ; it is there said of him with relation to those times : “Stava con grandissima reputation e governava il papato et havia piu zente a la sua audientia cha il papa.” (App. No. 17.)

rous habits and manners of Leo; and the conflict maintained by Adrian with the tastes and opinions of his court. Every thing was conducted with prudence, and his own conduct, at least, was marked by blamelessness and moderation.* The pontifical ceremonies were punctually and reverently performed, audiences granted from morning to evening with unwearied patience, science and art encouraged in the career they had now entered upon. Clement VII. was himself very well informed. He could converse with the same technical knowledge on mechanics and hydraulics, as on questions of philosophy and theology. He displayed extraordinary acuteness on all subjects; penetrated to the very bottom of the most perplexing circumstances, and was singularly easy and adroit in discourse and argument. Under Leo he had showed himself unsurpassed in prudent counsel and cautious execution.

But it is the storm that proves the skill of the pilot. He undertook the management of the papacy, even if we regard it merely as an Italian principality, at a most critical moment.

The Spaniards had contributed more than any other nation to the aggrandisement and defence of the States of the Church. They had re-established the Medici at Florence, while, on the other hand, their alliance with the popes and with that family had been instrumental to the rise of their own

* Vettori says, that for a hundred years, there had not been so good a man pope: "non superbo, non simoniaco, non avaro, non libidinoso, sobrio nel victo, parco nel vestire, religioso, devoto." (App. No. 16.)

power in Italy. Alexander VI. had opened their way to Lower Italy; Julius had introduced them into the centre; the attack on Milan, undertaken in concert with Leo, had made them masters of the north. Clement himself had contributed not a little to their successes. There exists an instruction from him to one of his ambassadors at the Spanish court, in which he enumerates the services he has rendered to Charles V. and his house. He asserts that it was mainly he who prevented Francis I. from penetrating to Naples at his first invasion; it was at his persuasion that Leo threw no impediments in the way of the election of Charles V. to the imperial throne, and abolished the ancient constitution, according to which no king of Naples could be at the same time emperor; spite of all the promises of the French, he favoured Leo's alliance with Charles for the reconquest of Milan, and to bring about this, spared neither the money of his native city and of his friends, nor his own personal exertions: he caused the election of Adrian VI. to the papacy, at a time when that election seemed equivalent to throwing it into the hands of the emperor.* I shall not inquire how much of Leo's policy is to be ascribed to the counsellor, and how much to the sovereign; but one thing is certain, that Cardinal de' Medici was always on the side of the emperor. Even after he was pope, he assisted the imperial troops with money and provisions, and with grants of eccle-

* *Instruttione al Card. reverend^{mo}. di Farnese, che fu poi Paulo III., quando andò legato all' Imperatore Carlo V. doppo il sacco di Roma. (App. No. 15.)*

siastical revenues. Once again they were indebted for victory in part to his support.

So strictly was Clement allied to the court of Spain; but, as it not seldom happens, great and extraordinary evils arose out of this alliance.

The popes had caused the growth of the Spanish power, but they had never directly intended this result. They had wrested Milan from France, but they had not designed to give it to Spain. On the contrary, more than one war had been undertaken for the express purpose of preventing Milan and Naples from falling into the hands of the same power.* That the Spaniards, so long masters of Lower Italy, should now daily establish themselves more firmly in Lombardy, that they should postpone the investiture of Sforza, was regarded at Rome with impatience and disgust. Clement was also personally displeased. We see in the above-mentioned instruction, that even as Cardinal, he often thought he was not treated with the consideration he deserved. Little account was taken of his opinion; and it was against his express advice that the attack on Marseilles was undertaken in 1524. His ministers, by their own confession, expected still greater disrespect to the apostolic see. They experienced nothing from the Spaniards but overbearing insolence.†

* It is expressly said in that instruction, that the pope had shown himself ready to acquiesce even in what was disagreeable to him: "*purchè lo stato di Milano restasse al Duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre d'Italia.*" (See App. and vol. iii. p. 33.)

† M. Giberto datario a Don Michele di Silva. *Lettere di Principi*, i. 197 b

How strongly had the course of past events, and his own personal situation, appeared to bind Clement to the cause of Spain, in the bonds both of necessity and of inclination! But now he found a thousand reasons to curse the power he had helped to establish; to oppose the cause he had hitherto favoured and fostered.

Of all political tasks the most difficult perhaps is, to depart from a line on which we have hitherto trodden; to force back the current of consequences of which we ourselves are the source.

In the case of Clement this was doubly difficult. The Italians were fully sensible that the decision now taken would affect their fate for centuries. A strong feeling of common interest had arisen throughout the nation. I am persuaded that their vast literary and artistical pre-eminence above all other countries was the main cause of this union. The arrogance and rapacity of the Spaniards, as well leaders as common soldiers, were intolerable; and it was with a mixture of scorn and rage that the Italians beheld these half-barbarian strangers, masters in their land. Things were still in such a posture that it appeared possible to get rid of their oppressors; but they must not conceal from themselves, that if they did not undertake the work of self-deliverance with the whole strength of the nation—if they succumbed now—they were lost for ever.

I could have wished to be able to trace the whole course of this period through all its intricate details, —to exhibit the entire struggle of the excited powers. But I can only touch on a few of the most momentous points.

The first step, and one which appeared extremely dexterous, was to endeavour to gain over the emperor's best general, who was known to be very discontented. What further could be wanted, if, as they hoped, they could detach from the emperor, together with his general, the army, by means of which he governed Italy? There was no lack of promises,—they extended even to a crown. But how false was their reckoning! how utterly was their prudence, with all its conscious astuteness, wrecked on the rugged mass against which it struck! This general, Pescara, was indeed born in Italy, but of Spanish blood; he spoke only Spanish; he would be a Spaniard and nothing else. He had no tincture of Italian art or literature; he owed his whole education to Spanish romances, which breathe nothing but loyalty and fidelity. He was by nature adverse to a national Italian enterprise.* Scarcely had the proposal been made to him, when he communicated it to his comrades and to the emperor. He used it only as a means of discovering all the views, and thwarting all the projects, of the Italians.

All mutual confidence being now necessarily at

* Vettori loads him with opprobrious epithets. “Era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenoso e crudele, senza religione, senza humanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia.” (App. No. 16.) Even Morone once said to Guiccardini, that there was not a more faithless, malicious man than Pescara, (Hist. d'Italia, xvi. 476) and nevertheless made him the proposal. I do not bring forward these opinions, as supposing them to be true; they only show that Pescara had evinced nothing but hostility and hatred towards the Italians.

an end, a mortal struggle with the emperor was inevitable.

In the summer of 1526, we at length see the Italians put forth their whole strength in the work. The Milanese are already in arms against the imperialists: a Venetian and a papal army are marching to their assistance: they have the promise of aid from Switzerland: they are in alliance with France and England. "This time," says Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII., "it is not a question of a petty vengeance, a point of honour, or a single city. This war will decide the deliverance or the eternal slavery of Italy." He had no doubt of a successful issue. "Posterity," says he, "will envy us the times in which we lived, and our share in so great a felicity." He hoped there would be no need of foreign aid. "Ours alone," he adds, "will be the glory, and the fruit will be so much the sweeter."*

With these thoughts and hopes Clement undertook his war against Spain.† It was his most daring and magnanimous, his most disastrous and ruinous project.

The affairs of the church and the state were inextricably interwoven. The pope, however, appeared to have entirely left out of account the agitations of Germany; in these the first re-action manifested itself.

* G. M. Giberto al Vescovo di Veruli. *Lettere di Principi*, i. p. 192 a.

† Foscari also says: "Quello fa a presente di voler far lega con Francia, fa per ben suo e d'Italia, non perchè ama Francesi." (App. No. 17.)

At the moment when the troops of Clement VII. marched into Upper Italy, the diet had met at Spires in order to come to a definitive resolution concerning the errors of the church. That the imperial party,—that Ferdinand of Austria, who commanded in the emperor's place and who himself entertained views on Milan,—should feel any great interest in upholding the papal power on the one side the Alps, while they were vehemently attacked by that power on the other, would have been contrary to the nature of things. Whatever had been the former intentions or professions of the imperial court *, all show of respect or amity was put an end to by the open war which had broken out between them. Never did the towns declare themselves more freely ; never did the princes press more urgently for redress of their grievances. The proposition was made to burn the books which contained the new ordinances, and to acknowledge no rule but the holy scriptures. Although there was some opposition, yet never was a more independent decision taken. Ferdinand signed a decree of the empire, in virtue of which the states were at liberty to guide themselves in matters of religion, as each could answer it to God and the emperor—that is, to act according to his own judgment : a decision in which no reference whatever was made to the pope, and which may be regarded as the beginning of the real Reformation,

* The instructions of the emperor, which inspired the protestants with some fear, are dated March, 1526, a time at which the pope had not yet contracted an alliance with France.

the establishment of a new church in Germany. This decree was immediately adopted in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring countries. The protestant party thence gained an immense step; it acquired a legal existence.

We may assert that this state of the public mind of Germany was decisive for Italy also. The Italians, as a body, were far from being inspired by a universal enthusiasm for their great enterprise, and even those who shared in this sentiment were by no means united. The pope, with all his ability, with all his attachment to the cause of Italy, was not the man to turn the current of events—to subdue and enchain fortune. His acuteness sometimes seemed injurious to him. He seemed to be too conscious that he was the weaker; all possibilities, all dangers that could befall, arose before him, embarrassed his judgment, and puzzled his will. Some men are endowed with a quick and intuitive perception of the simple, the practicable, and the expedient, in public affairs. He possessed it not.* In the most critical moments he was seen to doubt, to vacillate, and to consider how he could save money.

As his allies did not keep their word with him, the results he hoped for were far from being attained; the imperialists still held out in Lom-

* Suriano Rel. di 1533, finds in him, “core frigidissimo; el quale fa la Beat^{ne}. S. esser dotata di non vulgar timidità, non diro pusillanimità. Il che pero parmi avere trovato comunemente in la natura fiorentina. Questa timidità causa che S. Sà. è molto irresoluta.” (App. No. 20.)

bardy, when, in November, 1526, George Frundsberg crossed the Alps with a formidable troop of Landsknechts, to put an end to this war. They were all Lutherans, both he and his people. They came to avenge the emperor on the pope, whose breach of the alliance they had been taught to consider as the cause of all mischief; of the continual wars which agitated Christendom, and of the success of the Ottomans, who had just then conquered Hungary. "If I get to Rome," said Frundsberg, "I will hang the pope."

With anxious glance we see the tempest gathering in the horizon and gradually overspreading the whole heavens. Rome, teeming with crime, yet not less fertile in generous studies, in talent and in knowledge; adorned with works of art, such as the world has never again produced—a treasure ennobled by the stamp of genius, and exercising a vital and enduring influence on the world—Rome is threatened with ruin.

As the masses of the imperialists collected, the Italian bands dispersed before them. The only army that still existed followed them from afar. The emperor, who had long ceased to be able to pay his troops, had not the power, even if he had the inclination, to alter their course. They marched under his banner, but they followed their own tumultuous impulses. The pope still hoped, negotiated, conceded, determined; but the sole expedient that could save him—to satisfy the cupidity of the army with as much money as they thought they could venture to ask—he would not, or

could not adopt. Would he then at least vigorously endeavour to meet the enemy with such arms as he had? Four thousand men would have sufficed to hold the passes of Tuscany, yet not even an attempt was made to defend them. Rome contained perhaps thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms, many of whom had seen war; they went about with swords at their sides, fought with one another, and boasted of their high exploits. But to resist an enemy who brought with him certain destruction, not more than five hundred men could ever be collected without the gates of Rome. The pope and his forces were overthrown at the first assault. On the 6th of May, 1527, two hours before sunset, the imperialists entered Rome. Their old leader Frundsberg was no longer with them: a tumult having arisen in which he could not command the wonted obedience, he was struck with apoplexy and left behind ill. Bourbon, who had led the army so far, was killed at the moment the scaling ladders were placed against the walls. Without a leader to check their ferocity or their lust of plunder, the blood-thirsty soldiers, hardened by long privation, and rendered savage by their trade, poured like a torrent over the city. Never did a richer booty fall into the hands of a more terrible army: never was there a more protracted and more ruinous pillage.* The splendor of Rome fills the beginning

* Vettori: "La uccisione non fu molta, perchè rari si uccidono quelli che non si vogliono difendere, ma la preda fu inestimabile in danari contanti, di gioie, d'oro e d'argento lavorato, di vestiti, d'arazzi, paramenti di casa, mercantie d'ogni sorte e di

of the sixteenth century; it marks an astonishing period of development of the human mind—with this day it was extinguished for ever.

The pope, who had aspired to be the deliverer of Italy, thus found himself besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and as it were a prisoner. The preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established by this great defeat.

A fresh attack of the French, which promised much at the beginning, entirely failed in the end. They resigned themselves to abandon all their claims to Italy.

Another event occurred of not less importance. Before the conquest of Rome, when it was seen that Bourbon was marching in the direction of that city, the enemies of the Medici at Florence had taken advantage of the confusion of the moment, and had once more driven out the family of the pope. Clement was more affected by the desertion of his native city than even by the capture of Rome. People remarked with surprise that after such grievous injuries he renewed his alliance with the imperialists. He did so, because he saw in the assistance of the Spaniards the only means of restoring his kindred and his party to Florence. It appeared to him better to endure the despotism of the emperor, than the insolence of the rebels. The more the fortunes of the French declined, the

taglie." The pope was not to be blamed for the misfortune; it was owing to the inhabitants: he calls them, "*superbi, avari, homicidi, invidiosi, libidinosi e simulatori*:" such a population could not sustain itself. (App. No. 16.)

more he tried to conciliate the Spaniards ; and when, at length, the former were entirely routed, he concluded with the latter the treaty of Barcelona. He so completely altered his policy, that he now employed that very army which had devastated Rome before his eyes, and had held himself so long beleaguered and captive, as an instrument for reducing his native city to its former subjection.

From that time Charles was more powerful in Italy than any emperor had been for centuries. The crown with which he was invested at Bologna had once more its full significancy. He gradually reduced Milan and Naples to obedience: in Tuscany he gained direct and permanent influence by the restoration of the Medici to Florence, while the remaining powers of Italy tendered their alliance, or sought a reconciliation. With the combined forces of Spain and of Germany he held Italy in subjection from the Mediterranean to the Alps, by the might of his victorious arms, and in right of his imperial dignity.

Such was the course, and such the issue, of the wars of Italy. From that time she has never emancipated herself from foreign sway. Let us now inquire into the progress of the religious dissensions, which were so closely connected with the political troubles.

When the pope resigned himself to see the Spaniards wielding the sovereign power all around him, he hoped at least to find his authority in

Germany restored by this mighty emperor, who was represented to him as so true and devout a catholic. This is expressly mentioned in an article of the treaty of Barcelona. The emperor promised to lend all his might to the reduction of the protestants, and seemed earnestly bent upon accomplishing it. He returned a most ungracious answer to the protestant delegates who came to him in Italy. During his journey to Germany, in the year 1530, certain members of the Curia, and especially the legate who had been sent to accompany him, Cardinal Campeggi, conceived bold projects, perilous in the highest degree to Germany.

A memorial presented by him to the emperor, at the time of the diet of Augsburg, and containing an exposition of these projects, is still extant. With regret and repugnance, but as a tribute to truth, I must say a few words on it.

Cardinal Campeggi did not content himself with lamenting religious errors; he commented more particularly on their political consequences. He represented, that not only in the imperial cities was the authority and dignity of the nobility lowered by the reformation; not only could no prince, ecclesiastical or even secular, any longer obtain due obedience; but the majesty of the emperor himself was disregarded. The question was, how the evil was to be met.

The secret of the means he proposed was not very profound. Nothing was requisite, he thought, but that the emperor should conclude a treaty with the well-affected princes: they should then proceed to

work upon the recusants by promises or by threats. If they remained stubborn, what was to be done? The emperor had a right "to extirpate this poisonous plant with fire and sword."* The main thing would be to confiscate their property, secular and ecclesiastical, in Germany, as well as in Hungary and Bohemia; for against heretics this is lawful and right. If the mastery over them were once obtained, holy inquisitors were to be appointed to track out every remnant of them, and proceed against them by the same means as were used against the Moors in Spain. Besides this the university of Wittenberg was to be excommunicated; all those who studied there were to be declared unworthy the favour of pope or emperor; the books of the heretics to be burnt; the monks who had quitted their convents to be sent back to them, and not a single schismatic to be tolerated at any court.

But first a sweeping confiscation was necessary. "Even if your majesty," says the legate, "confines yourself to the leaders of the party, you may extract from them a large sum of money, which is at all events indispensable to carry on the war against the Turks."

Such is the tone of this project †; such are its

* "Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che Dio nol voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, quella (S. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco, et radicitus extirpare questa mala venenosa pianta."

† They ventured to call such a mere sketch an instruction. "Instructio data Cæsari a reverend^{mo}. Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530." I found it in a Roman library, in the hand-writing of the time; and beyond all doubt authentic. (App. No. 19.)

principles. How does every word breathe of oppression, carnage and plunder ! We cannot wonder that Germany expected the worst from an emperor arriving under such guidance, or that the protestants took counsel among themselves, as to the degree of resistance they might lawfully use.

Fortunately, however, the posture of affairs did not justify any fear that such an enterprise would be attempted.

The emperor, as Erasmus demonstrated at the time, was far from being powerful enough to put it in execution.

But had he possessed the power, he would hardly have had the will.

He was by nature rather kind, considerate, and thoughtful, than the contrary ; and the nearer he contemplated these heresies, the more did they strike on a chord of his own spirit. Even the tenor of his convocation of the diet runs, that he desired to hear and to weigh the different opinions, and to try to bring them all to one christian truth. He was far from any thought of violence.

But as there are some who are wont to doubt of the purity of all human motives, we shall adduce a reason to which even they can find no answer :—it was not Charles's interest to use force.

Should he, the emperor, make himself an executor of papal decrees ? Should he take upon himself the task of subjugating the enemies of the pope,—and not of this pope alone, but of all succeeding ones ? those very enemies too, who were likely

to cause them the most trouble? He was far from having sufficient confidence in the friendship of the papal power to induce him to take such a course.

On the contrary, he had a natural, obvious interest in the actual condition of things; an interest which he needed only to improve, in order to attain to a greater superiority than he even now possessed.

Whether justly or unjustly, I shall not discuss; it was universally admitted that nothing but an ecclesiastical council would have power to remove the enormous errors which had crept into the church. The councils had maintained their popularity precisely because the popes had shown a very natural aversion to them; from that time every fresh act of opposition raised their fame and credit. In the year 1530, Charles determined to take advantage of this state of public opinion. He promised to convene a council within a certain short space of time.

The princes, in their differences with the see of Rome, had long wished for nothing so much as a spiritual check on its domination; Charles was therefore secure of the most powerful allies in a council convened under such circumstances. It was assembled at his instigation, held under his influence, and its decisions were to be carried into execution by him. These would point in opposite directions; they would affect the pope no less than his adversaries; the old idea of a reformation of head and members would be acted upon. What a preponderance must all these circumstances give to

the temporal power,—above all, to that of the emperor himself! This then was the prudent course; it was perhaps the inevitable one, but it was also in conformity with Charles's highest interests.

Nothing, on the contrary, could be more calculated to excite the alarm of the pope and of his court. I find, that at the first serious report of a council, the price of all saleable offices in the court fell considerably.* This is a strong proof of the danger to the existing order of things which such a measure was thought to threaten.

But Clement VII. had also personal causes for apprehension; he was conscious that he was not of legitimate birth; that he had not mounted to the highest dignity by an unsullied path; that he had suffered himself to be determined by private interests to employ the resources of the church in a costly war against his country; all things for which a pope might look to be called to a strict account. Clement, says Soriano, avoided as much as possible the very mention of a council.

Although he did not directly reject the proposal, (which indeed for the honour of the holy see he dared not do) it may be well imagined with what heart he entertained it.

He yielded; he resigned himself to what was inevitable, but he immediately placed in the

* Lettera anonima all' Arcivescovo Pimpinello (Lettere di Principi, iii. 5.): “Gli ufficii solo con la fama del concilio sono inviliti tanto, che non se ne trovano danari.” I see that Pallavicini also quotes this letter, iii. 7. 1.; I do not know how he comes to ascribe it to Sanga.

strongest light the objections ; he represented, in the most lively manner, all the difficulties and dangers attendant on a council, and pronounced the results more than dubious.* He then proceeded to make conditions, requiring the co-operation of all other sovereigns and the preliminary subjugation of the protestants ; conditions which were indeed quite in accordance with the papal system, but totally irreconcilable with the existing state of public opinion and of political relations. But how could he be expected to co-operate in such a work, at the time fixed by the emperor, not in seeming alone, but with sincerity and firmness ? Charles often reproached him with causing all the mischief that afterwards ensued, by these delays. He, doubtless, still hoped to elude the necessity which hovered over him.

But it held him fast in its iron grasp. In the year 1533, Charles returned to Italy, full of what he had seen and projected in Germany, and held a conference with the pope at Bologna. There, orally, and with increased earnestness, he pressed Clement to summon the council which he had so often demanded in writing. Their opinions were thus brought into direct collision. The pope stood fast to his conditions ; the emperor represented their impracticability ; they could not come to any agreement. In the letters which are extant

* E. g. all' imperatore: di man propria di Papa Clemente. Lettere di Principi, ii. 197. " Al contrario nessun (remedio) è piu pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali (del concilio) quando non concorrono le debite circostanze."

concerning this conference, we perceive a certain variation, the pope inclining more to the emperor's opinion in the one than in the other. But be that as it may, he was compelled to proceed to a fresh proclamation.* He could not so entirely blind himself, as to doubt that, at the return of the emperor, who was gone to Spain, he would no longer be suffered to rest in mere words; that the storm which he feared, and with which a council under such circumstances unquestionably menaced the see of Rome, would burst upon his head.

It was a situation in which the possessor of power, of whatsoever kind, might well be excused for embracing any decision by which he might ensure his own safety. The emperor's political power was already overwhelming, and even if the pope resigned himself to this superiority, he could not but often feel to what he was reduced. He was deeply offended that Charles had decided the old differences of the church with Ferrara, in favour

* We find a good account of the transactions at Bologna in one of the best chapters of Pallavicini, lib. iii. c. 12., drawn from the archives of the Vatican. This difference is there touched upon, and is said to have been based on express negotiation. In fact, in the letter addressed to the catholic states, by Rainaldus, xx. 659, Hortleder, i. xv., we find repeated the condition of a general co-operation; the pope promises to render an account of the issue of his exertions; on the other hand, in the list of points laid before the protestants for their consideration, it is expressly said, article 7, "*quod si forsan aliqui principes velint tam pio negotio deesse, nihilominus summus D^s. n^r. procedet, cum saniori parte consentiente.*" It seems, indeed, as if Pallavicini had this difference in his mind, although the account he gives refers to another point of variance.

of the latter ; he acquiesced publicly, but he complained to his friends. How much more grievous was it then, when this monarch, far so from lending himself to that prompt suppression of the protestants which Clement had hoped at his hands, set up claims (on the plea of the errors and heresies which troubled christendom) to an ecclesiastical authority such as had not been known for centuries, without heeding to what extent he endangered the dignity and influence of the holy see ! Could Clement endure to fall completely into his hands, and to abandon himself to his good pleasure ?

Before he quitted Bologna he took his resolution. Francis I. had frequently made overtures of a political and matrimonial alliance with the pope, which Clement had always declined. In the straits to which he now found himself reduced, he entertained them. We are expressly assured that Clement's real motive for giving way to the king of France, was the demand made for a council.* A measure which this pontiff would probably never again have projected for purely political objects,

* Soriano, Relatione, 1536. "Il papa andò a Bologna contra sua voglia e quasi sforzato, come di buon logo ho inteso, e fu assai di ciò evidente segno, che S. Sà. consumò di giorni cento in tale viaggio, il quale potea far in sei dì. Considerando dunque Clemente questi tali casi suoi, e per dire così la servitù nella quale egli si trovava per la materia del concilio, la quale Cesare non lasciava di stimolare, cominciò a rendersi piu facile al christianissimo. E quivi si trattò l'andata di Marsilia et insieme la pratica del matrimonio, essendo gia la nipote nobile et habile." At an earlier period the pope would have alleged her birth and her age, as a pretext for his evasions. (App. No. 2.)

(viz. to restore the balance of the two great powers, and to treat them with equal favour) he was determined to attempt by a consideration of the dangers with which the church was beset.

Shortly afterwards Clement held another conference with Francis I. at Marseilles, where the strictest alliance was agreed upon. Just as in the Florentine troubles the pope had cemented his friendship with the emperor by the marriage of his nephew with the natural daughter of Charles, so he now sealed this alliance which the critical state of the church led him to contract with Francis I., by betrothing his young niece, Catherine of Medici, with the king's second son. Then, he had to fear the French and their indirect influence on Florence; now, the emperor and his intentions with regard to a council.

He no longer endeavoured to conceal his object. A letter is extant from him to Ferdinand I., in which he declares that his efforts to bring about a co-operation of all the christian princes in a council had been unavailing; that king Francis I., to whom he had spoken, held the present time to be ill adapted for such an assemblage, and had refused to entertain the proposal; but that he (the pope) still hoped to see the christian princes more favourably disposed another time.* I know not how any doubt can be entertained as to the real views of Clement VII. In his last rescript to the catholic princes of Germany, he had repeated the condition of a general co-operation: his declaration of

* 20th of March 1534.—Pallavicini, iii., xvi. 3.

his inability to bring about this union involves therefore an unequivocal refusal to give any effect to his professions *. His alliance with France at once inspired him with the courage, and afforded him the pretext, for this refusal. I cannot persuade myself that the council would ever have taken place under his reign.

Nor was this the only result of that alliance. Another unexpectedly arose, of vast and permanent importance, especially to Germany. The combination to which it immediately gave birth, in consequence of the intimate blending of ecclesiastical and temporal interests, was most extraordinary. Francis I. was then on the best footing with the protestants. By contracting so strict an alliance with the pope, he now, to a certain extent, united the protestants and the pope within the same system. And here we perceive in what consisted the political strength of the position which the protestants had taken up. The emperor could not intend to reduce them again to direct subjection to the pope; on the contrary, he made use of their agitation as a means of holding him in check. On the other hand, it gradually became manifest that the pope did not wish to see them entirely at the mercy of the emperor: the connexion of Clement VII. with them was therefore not wholly unconscious; he hoped to profit by their opposition to the emperor, as a means of furnishing that monarch

* Soriano. "La Ser^{ta}. V^{ra}. dunque in materia del concilio può esser certissima, che dal canto di Clemente fu fuggita con tutti li mezzi e con tutte le vie."

with fresh occupation. It was remarked at the time, that the king of France made the pope believe that the leading protestant princes were dependent upon him, and held out hopes that he would induce them to abandon the project of a council.* But if we do not greatly mistake, his connexion with them extended much farther. Shortly after his conference with the pope, Francis I. had an interview with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the object of which was to restore the duke of Wirtemberg, who had been driven out of his states by the house of Austria. Francis having consented to furnish subsidies, Landgrave Philip proceeded to the execution of the enterprise, which he accomplished with surprising rapidity. The design certainly was that he should advance into the hereditary states of Austria†; and it was universally suspected that the king intended to attack Milan again from the side of Germany.‡ A still farther view of the matter is disclosed to us by Marino Giustiniano, at that time Venetian ambas-

* Sarpi: *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, lib. i. p. 68. Soriano does not confirm all that Sarpi relates, but an important part of it. This ambassador says:—"avendo fatto credere a Clemente, che da S. M. Ch^{ma}. dipendessero quelli Sⁱ. principalissimi e capi della fattione luterana—si che almeno si fuggisse il concilio." This is all I have ventured to assert.

† In the instructions to his ambassadors in France, dated August 1532, (Rommel, *Urkundenbuch*, 61.), he excuses himself for "our not having proceeded to attack the king in his patrimonial estates," ("dass wir nit furtzugen den König in seinen Erblanden anzugreifen.")

‡ Jovius, *Historiæ sui temporis*, lib. xxxii. p. 129. Paruta, *Storia Venez.* p. 389.

sador in France. He expressly asserts that this movement in Germany was concerted by Clement and Francis at Marseilles; he adds, that it would certainly not have been foreign to their plan to march their troops upon Italy, and that the pope would have secretly co-operated.* It would be somewhat rash to regard this assertion, however confidently made, as an authentic fact; farther proofs are required. But even if we do not attach credit to it, the aspect of things is undoubtedly most remarkable. Who could have imagined it? At the very moment that the pope and the protestants pursued each other with irreconcilable hate, that

* *Relatione del clarissimo M. Marino Giustinian el Kr. venuto d'ambasciator al christianissimo re di Francia del 1535: (Archivio Venez.)* "Francesco fece l'aboccamento di Marsilia con Clemente nel qual vedendo loro che Cesare stava fermo — *conchiusero il movimento delle armi in Germania*, sotto preteste di voler metter il duca di Virtenberg in casa: nel quale se Iddio non avesse posto la mano con il mezzo di Cesare, il quale all'improvviso e con gran prestezza senza saputa del X^{mo}. con la restitution del ducato di Virtenberg fece la pace, tutte quelle genti venivano in Italia sotto il favor secreto di Clemente." More exact information, I am of opinion, will at some future time be found on this point. Soriano contains besides, the following: "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali, che lo facevano credere, S. S. esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provisione alcuna in scrittura." That an Italian expedition was in question, cannot be denied. The pope asserted, that he had declined such a proposal — "non avere bisogno di moto in Italia." The king had told him, he ought to remain quiet, — "con le mani accorte nelle maniche." Probably the French maintained what the Italians denied; so that the ambassador in France is more positive than the one at Rome. If, however, the pope said that he had no need of a movement in Italy, it is easy to see how little the idea of a movement in Germany was thus excluded.

they waged a religious war which filled the world with animosities, they were nevertheless bound together by common political interests. In the former complexities of Italian affairs, nothing had been so injurious to the pope as that equivocal, crafty policy which he pursued; it now bore him still bitterer fruits in his spiritual jurisdiction.

King Ferdinand, menaced in his hereditary provinces, hastened to conclude the peace of Kadan, in which he abandoned Wirtemberg to its fate, while he contracted a more intimate alliance with the Landgrave. These were the most fortunate days in the life of Philip of Hesse. The prowess and promptitude with which he had restored to his rights an expelled German prince, rendered him one of the most considerable chiefs of the empire. Nor was this the only important result of his victory; the treaty of Kadan also contained an article of deep and extensive influence on religious differences;—the supreme court (*Kammergericht*) was enjoined to hear no more suits concerning confiscated church-property.

I know not if any other single event contributed so decidedly to establish the ascendancy of the protestant cause in Germany, as this Hessian enterprise. The injunction to the *Kammergericht* involves a legal security for the new party, which was of immense importance. Nor was the effect long in manifesting itself. The peace of Kadan may, I think, be regarded as the second great epoch of the rise of the protestant power in Germany. After an interval of less rapid progress, it now once more began

to spread with astonishing vigour. Wirtemberg, which had just been conquered, was immediately reformed: the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the march of Brandenburg, the second line of Saxony, one line of Brunswick, and the Palatinate soon followed. Within the space of a few years the reformation of the church extended over the whole of Lower Germany, and established itself for ever in Upper Germany.

And an enterprise which led to such results, which so incalculably advanced the new schism, was undertaken with the privity, if not with the approbation of Clement VII.!

The papacy was in a thoroughly false and untenable position. Its worldly tendencies had caused a degeneracy which gave rise to innumerable adversaries and dissidents; its adherence to this course,—the continued mingling of temporal and spiritual interests—brought about its utter downfall.

The schism of England under Henry VIII. was mainly attributable to this cause.

It is well worthy of remark, that Henry VIII., spite of his declared hostility to Luther, and of his strict alliance with the see of Rome, yet on the first difference in affairs purely political, threatened Rome with ecclesiastical innovations. This occurred in the beginning of the year 1525.* Matters were indeed then made up; the king made

* Wolsey had said in a threatening letter, “*che ogni provincia doventarà Lutherana*;” an expression which we may well regard as the first symptom of secession from Rome on the part of the English government. (S. Giberto ai nuntii d’Inghilterra: Lettere di Principi, i. p. 147.)

common cause with the pope against the emperor ; and when Clement, imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, was abandoned by all, Henry found means to send him supplies. Hence Clement had perhaps a greater personal attachment to him than to any other prince.* But since that time the king's divorce had been agitated. It cannot be denied that, even in the year 1528, if the pope did not absolutely promise him a favourable answer to his application for a divorce, he at least allowed him to think it possible, "as soon as ever the Germans and the Spaniards were driven out of Italy."† The very contrary, as we know, ensued. The imperialists now first acquired a firm footing in that country, and we have seen what a close alliance Clement contracted with them ; under these altered circumstances he found it impossible to realize a hope which, indeed, he had only slightly glanced at.‡ Scarcely was the peace of Barcelona

* Contarini, *Relatione di 1530*, asserts this expressly. (App. No. 18.) Soriano, 1533, also says,—"*Anglia, S. Santità ama et era conjunctissimo prima.*" The king's desire to obtain a divorce, he declares without any circumlocution, a "*pazzia.*" (App. No. 20.)

† From the despatches of Dr. Knight, at Orvieto, 1st and 9th Jan. 1528. Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 218.

‡ The whole situation of affairs is rendered intelligible in the following passage of a letter by the papal secretary Sanga to Campeggi, dated from Viterbo, 2 Sept. 1528, at the moment the Neapolitan undertaking miscarried, (an event mentioned in the letter,) and Campeggi was about going to England.—"*Come vostra Sign. Rev^{ma}. sa, tenendosi N. Signore obligatissimo come fa a quel Seren^{mo}. re, nessuna cosa è si grande della quale non desideri compiacerli, ma bisogna ancora che sua Beatitudine vedendo l'imperatore vittorioso e sperando in questa vittoria non*

concluded, when he evoked the suit to Rome. The wife whom Henry wished to divorce was the aunt of the emperor; the marriage had been expressly declared valid by a former pope; how then could the decision be doubtful, when once the affair had come, in the regular course of procedure, before the tribunals of the Curia, at that time under the constant influence of the imperial party? Henry immediately entered on the course which he had already contemplated. In essentials, as regarded the dogmas of the church, he unquestionably was, and he remained, a catholic; but this affair, which in Rome was so openly mixed up with political views, excited and exasperated his hostility to the secular power of the papacy. He retaliated every step that Rome took, unfavourable to his wishes, by some measure hostile to the Curia; made more and more open and formal renunciation of his allegiance; and when at length in the year 1534, that court gave its definitive sentence, he hesitated no longer, and declared the entire separation of his kingdom from the pope. So weak already were the bonds which united the Roman see and the several national churches, that it required only the will of a sovereign to break them altogether.

These events filled the last year of the life of Clement VII. They were rendered more bitter to

trovarlo alieno della pace,—non si precipiti a dare all' imperatore causa di nuova rottura, la quale leveria in perpetuo ogni speranza di pace: oltre che al certo metteria S. Sà. a fuoco e a totale eccidio tutto il suo stato." (*Lettere di diversi autori. Venetia, 1556, p. 39.*)

him by the consciousness that he was not wholly guiltless of them, and that his misfortunes were lamentably connected with his personal qualities. The course of things daily assumed a more perilous aspect. Francis I. already menaced Italy with a fresh invasion, and affirmed that he had received the pope's oral, though not written, approbation of this design. The emperor would no longer be put off with evasions, and pressed more and more urgently for the convocation of a council. Domestic troubles were added: after all the labour it had cost him to reduce Florence to subjection, the pope was condemned to see his two nephews fall out for the sovereignty of that city and proceed to acts of the most furious hostility: the bitter and anxious thoughts which this caused him, the dread of coming events, "sorrow and secret torment," says Soriano, brought him to the grave.*

We have called Leo fortunate; Clement was perhaps a better man,—at all events more blameless, more active, and even, in details, more acute; but in his whole course of life, active and passive, unfortunate. He was indeed the most ill-starred pope that ever sat upon the throne. He encountered the superiority of the hostile powers which pressed upon him from all sides, with a vacillating policy

* Soriano.—"L' imperatore non cessava di sollecitar il concilio.—S. M. Christ^{ma}. dimandò che da S. S^a. li fussino osservate le promesse essendo le conditioni poste fra loro. Percio S. S^a. si pose a grandissimo pensiero e fu questo dolore et affanno che lo condusse alla morte. Il dolor fu accresciuto dalle pazzie del cardinal de Medici, il quale allora piu che mai intendeva a rintuntiare il capello per la concorrenza alle cose di Fiorenza."

contingent on the probabilities of the moment, which wrought his entire downfall. He was doomed to see the attempt to build up an independent temporal power, to which his more celebrated predecessors had devoted themselves, lead to the very contrary results. He was obliged to endure that those from whom he tried to wrest Italy altogether, should establish their sovereignty in it for ever.

The great protestant schism unfolded itself with resistless power before his eyes ; whatever means he used to stem the torrent, served but to contribute to its wider spread. He quitted the throne he had occupied, infinitely sunk in reputation, without either spiritual or temporal authority. Northern Germany, which had ever been so important to the papacy, by whose conversion in earlier times the power of the popes in the West had mainly been established, whose revolt against Henry IV. had afforded them such signal service in the complete organization of the hierarchy, had now risen against them. Germany has the immortal merit of having restored Christianity to a purer form than it had worn since the first ages of the church ; of having rediscovered true religion. This was the weapon that made her unconquerable. Her convictions forced a passage into the minds of all her neighbours. Scandinavia had early adopted them. Contrary to the inclinations of the king, but under the shelter of the measures he had adopted, they diffused themselves over England. In Switzerland they achieved, with few modifications, a secure and enduring sway ; in France they made great

progress: in Italy, even in Spain, we find traces of them during the reign of Clement. The mighty tide rolled on nearer and nearer. There is a power in these opinions which convinces and carries along all minds; and the conflict of spiritual and temporal interests in which the papacy had involved itself, appears to have been exactly calculated to secure to them complete ascendancy.

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM.

THOUGH public opinion is now more loudly and systematically expressed, and more rapidly communicated, than at any former period of the world, its influence is not the growth of to-day. In every age it has constituted an important element of the social life of modern Europe. Who can say whence it arises, or how it is formed? We may regard it as the especial product of that community of interests and feelings which binds together societies; as the clearest expression of their inward movements and revolutions. It derives its origin and its nutriment from hidden sources, and, requiring little support from reason or from evidence, takes possession of the minds of men by involuntary conviction. Yet its apparent uniformity is in fact confined to the most general outlines; for in the innumerable circles, wide and narrow, of which

human society is composed, it reappears under forms the most various and peculiar. New observations and new experiments are constantly flowing into it; original minds are ever arising, which, affected by its course, but not borne along by its stream, re-act forcibly upon it; and thus it is in a state of incessant flux and metamorphosis. It is sometimes more, sometimes less, in accordance with truth and justice; being rather a tendency of social life and an impulse of the moment, than a fixed system. Frequently it merely accompanies the event which it contributes to produce, and from which it derives its form and its extension; occasionally however, when it encounters a stubborn will which it cannot subdue, it breaks out into violent and unreasonable demands. It must be acknowledged that it has generally a just consciousness of its own defects and necessities; yet, from its very nature, it can have no clear and steady perception where lies the remedy, or what are the means of applying it. Hence it happens that, in the course of time, it so often veers completely round. By its aid the papacy was established, by its aid it was overthrown. At the period we are considering it was thoroughly profane; it afterwards became completely spiritual. We have observed how it inclined to protestantism throughout Europe; we shall now see, how, through a great part of the continent, it took an opposite direction.

We shall begin by shewing how rapidly the doctrines of the protestants made their way even in Italy.

§ 1. OPINIONS ANALOGOUS WITH PROTESTANTISM
CURRENT IN ITALY.

LITERARY associations exercised an incalculable influence on the development of science and art in Italy. They assembled, here around a prince, there around a distinguished man of letters, or even an opulent private person of literary tastes, and sometimes were composed of individuals meeting together on free and equal terms. They were generally most beneficial when they arose spontaneously and without formal plan, out of the immediate exigencies of the times. We follow their traces with pleasure.

At the same moment that the spread of protestantism agitated Germany, literary societies assuming a religious colour arose in Italy.

Under Leo X. the tone of good society had become sceptical and anti-christian, but a re-action now took place in the minds of some of the most intelligent men,—in those who partook of the refinement of their age, without being corrupted by it. It was natural that they should congregate together. The human mind needs, or at least delights in, the support of assent; but this sympathy is indispensable in religious opinions, which are based on the profoundest community of sentiment.

Even in Leo's time we find mention of an oratory of Divine Love, which a few distinguished men of Rome had established for their common

edification. In the church of Sⁿ. Silvestro and S^{ta}. Dorotea, in the Trastevere, not far from the spot where St. Peter was thought to have lived and to have presided over the first meetings of Christians, they assembled for divine worship, preaching and spiritual exercises. They met to the number of fifty or sixty. Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, Caraffa, all of whom afterwards became cardinals, Gaetano da Thiene who was canonized, Lippomano, a theological writer of great reputation and influence, and some other celebrated men, were amongst them. Giuliano Bathi, the priest of that church, served as centre of the circle.*

It might readily be inferred from the place of these meetings that the tendency of them was far from being contrary to protestantism: they were indeed prompted by a very kindred spirit. They arose from the same strong desire to oppose some resistance to the common degeneracy.

They were composed of men who subsequently

* I extract this notice from Caracciolo: *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS. "Quei pochi huomini da bene ed eruditi prelati che erano in Roma in quel tempo di Leone X. vedendo la città di Roma e tutto il resto d'Italia, dove per la vicinanza alla sede apostolica doveva piu fiorire l'osservanza de' riti, essere cosi maltrattato il culto divino,—si unirono in un oratorio chiamato del divino amore circa sessanta di loro, per fare quivi quasi in una torre ogni sforzo per guardare le divine leggi." (App. No. 29.) In the *Vita Cajetani Thienæi*, (AA. SS. Aug. II.) c. i. 7-10. this is again repeated and enlarged upon by Caracciolo, although in the latter place he only reckons fifty members. The *Historia clericorum regularium vulgo Theatinorum*, by Josephus Silos, confirms it in many passages, printed in the *Commentarius prævius* to the *Vita Cajetani*.

exhibited great divergency of views ; at that time indeed they concurred in one general tone of thought and feeling, but the different tendencies of their minds soon began to show themselves.

A few years later we meet with a part of this Roman society in Venice.

Rome had been sacked, Florence conquered ; Milan had constantly been the theatre of war. In this universal ruin, Venice had remained untouched by the foreigner or the soldier. She was regarded by all as the city of refuge. Thither flocked the dispersed literati of Rome and the patriots of Florence, against whom the gates of their native city were closed for ever. Among the latter particularly, as we learn from the testimony of Nardi the historian, and of Bruccioli the translator of the Bible, there arose a very strong spirit of devotion, in which the influence of the doctrines of Savonarola was still perceptible. Other fugitives, as for example, Reginald Pole, who had left England to escape from the innovations of Henry VIII., shared in these sentiments. They found a ready welcome from their Venetian hosts.

At the house of Pietro Bembo in Padua, which was open to all comers, the conversation fell chiefly on philological subjects, such as Ciceronian Latin. But the questions discussed at the house of the learned and sagacious Gregorio Cortese, the abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, were of a deeper nature. Bruccioli lays the scene of some of his dialogues in the groves and thickets of San Giorgio.

Not far from Treviso, was a villa called Treville, inhabited by Luigi Priuli.* He was a specimen of the genuine accomplished Venetian, such as we still occasionally meet, full of calm susceptibility to true and noble sentiments and to disinterested friendship. The society that assembled round him was chiefly occupied with theological studies and discourse. There was the Benedictine, Marco of Padua, a man of the profoundest piety, probably he from whom Pole declared he had received the milk of the word. There was also he who may be esteemed the chief of all, Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole said, that he was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover by its own research, or that divine grace had revealed; and that he crowned his knowledge with virtue.

If we inquire what was the faith which chiefly inspired these men, we shall find that the main article of it was that same doctrine of justification, which, as preached by Luther, had given rise to the whole protestant movement. Contarini wrote a treatise upon it, of which Pole speaks in the highest praise. "You have brought to light the jewel," says he, "which the church kept half concealed." Pole himself was of opinion that scripture, taken in its profoundest connexion, preaches nothing but this doctrine. He esteems his friend happy, in that he had been the first to promulgate "this holy, fruitful, indispensable truth."† The

* *Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli* ed. Quirini, tom. ii. *Diatriba ad epistolas Schelhornii*, clxxxiii.

† *Epistolæ Poli*, tom. iii. p. 57.

circle of friends to whom he attached himself included M. A. Flaminio, who lived for a time with Pole, and whom Contarini wished to take with him to Germany. The following passage shews how distinctly he taught this doctrine. "The gospel," says he, in one of his letters*, "is no other than the blessed tidings that the only begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the Eternal Father. He who believes this, enters into the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal, he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience."

It is hardly possible to use language of more orthodox Lutheranism.

This belief spread, like a literary tendency or opinion, over a great part of Italy.†

It is, however, remarkable how suddenly the dispute concerning an opinion which had previously excited little attention, called forth the activity of all minds and continued to occupy them

* To Theodorina Sauli, 12 Feb. 1542. *Lettere Volgari* (Raccolta del Manuzio) Vinegia, 1553, ii. 43.

† Amongst other documents, the letter of Sadolet to Contarini (*Epistola Sadoleti*, lib. ix. p. 365.), concerning his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," is very remarkable. "In quibus commentariis," says Sadolet, "mortis et crucis Christi mysterium totum aperire atque illustrare sum conatus." Still he had not quite satisfied Contarini, with whose opinion also he did not quite concur. He promises, meanwhile, in the new edition, to enter upon a clear explanation of the doctrines of original sin and of grace: "de hoc ipso morbo naturæ nostræ et de reparatione arbitrii nostri a Spiritu Sancto facta."

for a century. In the sixteenth century the doctrine of justification gave rise to the greatest agitations, divisions, and even revolutions. It seems, indeed, that the tendency of all minds to busy themselves with so transcendental a question,—a question regarding the profoundest mysteries of the immediate relation between God and man,—arose in contrast to the worldliness which had insinuated itself into the whole institution of the church, and had led to a complete oblivion of that relation.

Even in the gay and voluptuous Naples, it was agitated by Juan Valdez, a Spaniard, secretary to the viceroy. The writings of Valdez are unfortunately entirely lost, but we can gather very precise evidence of their nature and contents from the objections of his opponents. About the year 1540, a little book was published, called “Of the benefits of the death of Christ,” which, as a decree of the inquisition expresses it, “treated in an insinuating manner of justification, depreciated works and meritorious acts, ascribed all merit to faith alone, and, as this was the very point which was at that time a stumbling-block to many prelates and monks, obtained extraordinary circulation.” Frequent researches have been made as to the author of this book. The decree in question distinctly points him out. “It was,” we learn, “a monk of San Severino, a pupil of Valdez. Flaminio revised it.”*

* Schelhorn, Gerdesius, and others, have ascribed this book to Aonius Palearius, who says, in a discourse, “hoc anno Tusce scripsi Christi morte quanta commoda allata sint humano ge-

The book is thus attributed to a scholar and a friend of Valdez. It had incredible success, and rendered the doctrine of justification, for a time, popular in Italy. Valdez, however, was not exclusively occupied with theological pursuits, as he then filled an important civil post. He founded no sect; the book was the fruit of a liberal study of Christianity. His friends dwelt with delight on the days they had enjoyed with him at the Chiaja and at Posilippo, in that exquisite region "where nature rejoices in her splendour, and smiles at her own beauty." Valdez was gentle, agreeable, and not without considerable reach of mind. "A portion of his soul sufficed," says one of his friends, "to animate his frail, attenuated body; the larger part of his clear, untroubled intellect was ever raised aloft in the contemplation of truth."

Valdez possessed an extraordinary influence over

neri." The compendium of the inquisitors, which I found in Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS., (App. No. 29.), contains, on the other hand, the following expressions: "Quel libro del beneficio di Christo, fu il suo autore un monaco di San Severino in Napoli, discepolo del Valdes, fu revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, fu stampato molte volte, ma particolarmente a Modena de mandato Moroni, ingannò molti, perche trattava della giustificatione con dolce modo ma hereticamente." The passage from *Palearius* does not after all point out the book so distinctly that some other may not as well be meant; *Palearius* also says that he was called to account for it in the very same year; while, on the contrary, the compendium expresses itself so as to leave no doubt, and adds, "quel libro fu da molti approbato solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nell' indice." For these reasons I hold the opinions of the above-mentioned scholars to be erroneous.

the nobility and the learned men of Naples. The women also took a lively share in speculations which furnished occupation both to the intellect and the religious affections.

Among them was Vittoria Colonna, who, after the death of her husband, Pescara, devoted herself entirely to study. Her poems, as well as her letters, breathe intuitive moral sense, and unaffected piety. How beautifully does she console a friend for the loss of her brother, "whose serene spirit had entered into eternal peace; she ought not to lament, since she could now converse with him; his absences, once so frequent, could no longer hinder her being understood by him."* Pole and Contarini were among her most intimate friends. I am not disposed to believe that she addicted herself to spiritual exercises of a monastic sort; at least, Aretino writes to her with great naïveté, "that it was certainly not her opinion that the muteness of the tongue, or the casting down of the eyes, or the coarse garment, availed any thing, but the purity of the soul."

The house of Colonna generally, and more especially Vespasiano, Duke of Palliano, and his wife, Giulia Gonzaga,—the same who was reputed the most beautiful woman of Italy,—were favourable to these religious opinions. One of Valdez's books was dedicated to Giulia.

The new doctrine had likewise made its way with extraordinary rapidity among the middle

* Lettere Volgari, i. 92. Lettere di diversi autori, p. 604. A very useful collection, particularly the first part.

classes. The decree of the inquisition which reckons three thousand schoolmasters as adherents of it, seems like an exaggeration; but supposing the number to be smaller, how great must have been its influence on youth and on the mass of the people!

The acceptance which these opinions found in Modena was scarcely less cordial. They were favoured by the bishop himself, Morone, an intimate friend of Pole and Contarini. The book, "Of the benefits of the death of Christ," was printed and distributed at his express command, and his chaplain, Don Girolamo da Modena, was the president of an academy in which the same principles were taught.* Writers have, from time to time, spoken of the protestants of Italy, and we have already mentioned several names which are to be found in the lists of them. It is indisputable that some articles of the faith which pervaded Germany had taken root in the minds of these men; that they sought to establish their creed on the evidence of scripture, and, in the article of justification, approached very near to the Lutheran doctrine. But they cannot be said to have concurred in it on all points; the unity of the church, and the reverence for the pope, were too deeply imprinted on their minds, and too many a catholic rite and usage was

* In Schelhorn's *Amœnitatt. Literar.* tom. xii. p. 564., we find reprinted the *Articuli contra Moronum*, published by Vergerio in 1558, where these accusations do not fail to appear. The more exact notices I took from the compendium of the inquisitors.

intimately bound up with the national character, for them to be lightly and suddenly renounced.

Flaminio wrote an exposition of the Psalms, the dogmatic contents of which have been approved by many protestant writers ; but even to this he prefixed a dedication in which he called the pope the Watchman and Prince of all Holiness, the Vicegerent of God upon earth.

Giovan Battista Tolengo ascribes justification to grace alone ; he even speaks of the utility of sin, which is not far removed from the hurtfulness of good works. He declaims vehemently against confidence in fasts, frequent prayers, masses, and confessions, and even against the priesthood itself, the tonsure, and the mitre.* Nevertheless he died quietly in his sixtieth year, in the same Benedictine convent which had witnessed his vows in his sixteenth.†

The sentiments of Bernardino Ochino were, for a long time, nearly the same. If we believe his own words, it was “a profound longing after the heavenly paradise, to be obtained through divine grace,” which first led him to become a Franciscan. His zeal was so sincere and intense that he very soon passed on to the more severe discipline of the Capuchins. In the third, and again in the fourth chapter of this order, he was elected its general ; an office which he held with the greatest

* Ad Psalm. 67. f. 246. There is an extract from these explanations to be met with in the “*Italia Reformata*” of Gerdesius, p. 257—261.

† Thuani *Historiæ*, ad a. 1559, i. 473.

approbation. His life was one of the greatest austerity. He always went on foot, slept upon his cloak, and never drank wine; he most earnestly inculcated the rule of poverty upon others also, as the most efficacious means of attaining to the perfection of the Gospel; yet he was gradually convinced of the doctrine of justification through grace, and adopted it with fervour. He preached it with the utmost earnestness in the confessional and in the pulpit. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I would do to Christ himself; it seemed to me that I had never beheld a holier man." Whole cities thronged to hear his preaching; the churches were too small to contain the numbers that flocked to them; the learned and the ignorant, each sex and every age, went away edified. His coarse clothing, his beard floating upon his breast, his grey hair, his pale emaciated countenance, and the feebleness occasioned by his obstinate fasting, gave him the aspect and expression of a saint.*

And thus opinions analogous to those of the schismatics of Germany existed in the bosom of catholicism, though they never led their adherents to overstep the pale of the church. The Italian innovators did not engage in any direct conflict with the priestly or monastic spirit and practices; they were far from attacking the supremacy of the pope. How was it possible, for example, that Pole should not adhere to it, after fleeing from England that he might not be compelled to pay homage to his king

* Boverio: *Annali di frati minori Capuccini*, i. 375. Gratiani: *Vie de Commendone*, p. 143.

as head of the English church? They thought, as Ottonel Vida, a pupil of Vergerio, declares to his master, that "in the christian church each had his office; on the bishop devolved the care of the souls in his diocese, whom he was bound to guard from the snares of the world and the evil one; the metropolitan was to watch vigilantly that the bishops resided in their dioceses; the metropolitans, again, were subject to the pope, to whom was committed the universal direction of the church, which it was his duty to govern with the aid of the Holy Ghost. Every man should be watchful in his vocation."* The men of whom we are speaking regarded a separation from the church as the greatest possible evil. Isidoro Clario, who, by the aid of protestant labours, corrected the Vulgate, and wrote an introduction to it which was subjected to an expurgation, warned the protestants against such a project in a work written expressly with that view. "No corruption," says he, "can be so great as to justify a defection from the sacred union. Would it not be better that every one should endeavour to reform what exists, than to make uncertain and dangerous experiments in constructing something new? They would do well to turn all their thoughts to the improvement of the old institution and to the cure of its defects."

Under these modifications, there were a great number of adherents of the new doctrine in Italy. Antonio dei Pagliaricci of Siena, who was even

* Ottonello, Vida Dot. al Vescovo Vergerio: Lettere Volgari, i. 80.

reputed the author of the book "*Of the Benefits of the Death of Christ*;" Carnesecchi of Florence, who was mentioned as an adherent and propagator of that book; Giovan Battista Rotto of Bologna, who enjoyed the protection of Morone, Pole, and Vittoria Colonna, and found means to give pecuniary assistance to the poor and obscure among his followers; Fra Antonio of Volterra, and some distinguished man in almost every city of Italy, joined themselves to their body.* The opinions which agitated the country from one end to the other, through all classes of society, were purely and decidedly religious; but moderated on the subject of ecclesiastical reform by the influence which the church of Rome was so well calculated to exercise over the imaginations and affections of the Italian people.

§ 2. ATTEMPT AT INTERNAL REFORMS, AND AT A
RECONCILIATION WITH THE PROTESTANTS.

THERE is a saying ascribed to Pole, that a man should be satisfied with his own inward convic-

* The extract from the Compendium of the Inquisitors is our authority on this point. Bologna, it says, "fu in molti pericoli, perchè vi furono heretici principali, fra quali fu un Gio. Ba. Rotto, il quale haveva amicizia et appoggio di persone potentissime, come di Morone, Polo, Marchesa di Pescara, e raccoglieva danari a tutto suo potere, e gli compartiva tra gli heretici occulti e poveri, che stavano in Bologna, abjurò poi nelle mani del padre Salmerone, (the Jesuit,) per ordine del legato di Bologna." (Compend. fol. 9. c. 94.) In this manner they proceeded with every town.

tions, without troubling himself greatly whether errors and abuses exist in the church.* Nevertheless, the first attempt at a reformation originated with a party to which he himself belonged.

The most honourable act of Paul III's life was perhaps the one which marked his accession to the throne; viz. the summoning into the college of cardinals several distinguished men, without regard to any thing but their merits. He began with Contarini, the Venetian of whom we have already spoken, and at his suggestion nominated the others. They were men of unblemished manners, renowned for their learning and piety, and acquainted with the spiritual wants of different countries:—Caraffa, who had resided for a long time in Spain and the Netherlands; Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, in France; Pole, a fugitive from England; Giberto, who, after having long taken part in the management of public affairs, governed his bishopric of Verona with exemplary discretion; Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno; almost all of them, as we see, members of the Oratory of Divine Love, which we have already mentioned, and several of them holding religious opinions inclining to protestantism.†

These were the very cardinals who, by the pope's command, drew up a scheme of church reform. It was known to the protestants, who not only

* Passages from Atanagi in McCrie; *The Reformation in Italy*, p. 172. German translation.

† *Vita Reginaldi Poli*, in the edition of his letters by Quirini, tom. i. p. 12. *Florebelli de vita Jacobi Sadoleti Commentarius*, prefixed to the *Epp. Sadoleti*, col. 1590. vol. 3.

rejected, but ridiculed it; they, indeed, had meanwhile got far beyond it. But it can hardly be denied that it was a most significant fact for the catholic church, that the evil was attacked in Rome itself; that, in the immediate presence of a pope, and in the introduction to a work addressed to him, they should accuse popes, “of having frequently chosen servants not with a view to learn from them what their duty required, but in order to have those things declared lawful, towards which their desires are turned;” that this abuse of the highest power was declared the chief source of corruption.*

Nor did the matter rest here. There are some short essays of Gaspar Contarini extant, in which he makes vehement war on abuses, more particularly those which brought gains to the Curia. He denounces the practice of compositions and the receipt of money in payment of spiritual favours, as simony which might be esteemed a sort of heresy. He had been blamed for censuring former popes: “How?” exclaims he, “shall we trouble ourselves so much about the reputations of two or three popes, and not rather try to restore what has been defaced, and to secure a good name for ourselves? It were indeed too much to require us to defend all the acts of all the popes!” He attacks the abuse of dispensations in an earnest and stringent manner. He

* This is the *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de Emendanda Ecclesia*, already mentioned. It bears the signatures of Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Fregoso, Giberto, Cortese, and Aleander.

regards it as idolatrous to say (as was actually maintained), that the pope had no rule for the enactment or abolition of positive law but his own will. It is worth while to hear him on this point. "The law of Christ," says he, "is a law of liberty, and forbids a slavery so gross that the Lutherans were perfectly justified in comparing it to the Babylonish captivity. But besides this, can that be called a government, whose rule is the will of a man, by nature prone to evil, and moved by innumerable affections? No; all true dominion is a dominion of reason. Its aim is to lead those who are subject to it, by the just and appropriate means, to its end—happiness. The authority of the pope also is a dominion of reason. God granted it to Saint Peter and his successors, that they might lead the flock confided to them to eternal blessedness. A pope ought to know that those over whom he exercises it are free men. He ought not to command, or forbid, or dispense, according to his own pleasure, but according to the rule of reason, of the divine commandments, and of love; a rule which refers every thing to God and to the common good. For positive laws ought not to be arbitrary and capricious: they ought to be adaptations of the laws of nature and of God to circumstances; nor can they be changed, except in conformity with those laws and with the imperious demands of things." "Let your holiness be careful," exclaims he to Paul III., "not to depart from this rule. Give thyself not up to the impotence of the will which chooses what is evil;

to the servitude which is the bondage of sin. Then wilt thou be powerful and free ; then will the life of the christian republic be upheld in thee.”*

This, as we see, was an attempt to found a papacy guided by pure reason. It was the more remarkable, inasmuch as it proceeded from that same doctrine concerning justification and free will which had served as basis of the protestant schism. This is not a mere surmise, for Contarini expressly says that he entertained those opinions. He goes on to expound that man is prone to evil ; that this arises from the impotence of the will, which, when it turns to evil, is rather passive than active ; that through the grace of Christ alone it is free. He acknowledges, indeed, the authority of the pope, but he requires that it should be exercised in the service of God and the universal good.

Contarini laid his writings before the pope. On a bright and beautiful day of November, 1538, he accompanied him to Ostia. “ On the road,” he writes to Pole, “ this our good old man took me beside him and conversed with me alone on the reform of compositions. He said that he had the little treatise which I wrote on this matter, and that he had read it in his morning hours. I had given up all hope ; but now he spoke to me in so christian a manner, that I have conceived fresh hope

* G. Contarini Cardinalis ad Paulum III. P. M. de potestate pontificis in compositionibus. Printed in Rocaberti, Bibliotheca Pontificia Maxima, tom. xiii. I have in my possession a Tractatus de compositionibus datarii Rev^{mi}. D. Gasparis Contarini, 1536, which, as far as I can find, has been nowhere printed.

that God will do some great thing, and not let the gates of hell prevail against his Holy Spirit.” *

It is easy to understand, that a thorough reform of abuses interwoven with so many rights and claims, with so many of the habits of daily life, was the most difficult that could be undertaken ; yet pope Paul seemed gradually to conceive an earnest desire to attempt it.

He therefore appointed commissions for the execution of reforms† in the Camera Apostolica, the Ruota, Chancery, and Penitentiaria. He also recalled Giberti to his court. He issued reformatory bulls ; and preparations were made for that general council which pope Clement had so greatly dreaded and so constantly sought to avert, and which Paul III., on private grounds, might have found many reasons for avoiding. How then, men asked themselves, if improvements really took place, if the Roman court reformed itself, if the abuses in administration were removed—how, if that very dogma in which the whole of Luther’s system of faith originated, should become the principle of a renewal of life and doctrine in the church—would not a reconciliation be possible ? (For, it must be observed, even the protestants severed themselves slowly and reluctantly from the unity of the church.)

To many it seemed possible ; not a few founded serious hopes on a religious conference.

* Gaspar C. Contarinus Reginaldo C. Polo. *Ex ostiis Tiberinis*, xi. Nov. 1538. (*Epp. Poli*, ii. 142.)

† *Acta consistorialia* (Aug. 6, 1540) in Rainaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xxi. p. 146.

According to theory, the pope ought not to have consented to this ; since its object was to decide, not without the interference of the secular power, religious differences, of which he claimed the supreme cognizance. And in fact he abstained from signifying his approbation, though he suffered things to go on, and even despatched legates to the council.

He proceeded with great caution ; choosing none but moderate men, several of whom indeed subsequently fell under suspicion of protestantism, and furnishing them with wise directions for the government of their lives and their political conduct. When, for example, he sent Morone, who was still young, to Germany, in the year 1536, he neglected not to enjoin him “ to contract no debts, to pay at the places of entertainment appointed him, to dress himself neither luxuriously nor meanly, to frequent the churches, but without the least appearance of hypocrisy.” He was to represent in his own person that *Roman* reformation of which so much had been said ; and to that end he was recommended to maintain a dignity tempered by suavity and cheerfulness.*

In the year 1540 the bishop of Vienna advised extreme measures. He proposed that the articles of Luther’s and Melancthon’s doctrine which were declared heretical should be laid before the innovators, and that they should be peremptorily asked whether they would consent to renounce them. This advice, however, the pope, by his nuncio,

* *Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ.*
Oct. 24, 1536, MS. (App. No. 22.)

declined. "We fear," said he, "they would rather die than pronounce such a recantation." He wished he could only see a hope of a reconciliation. At the first gleam of it he would send a formula containing no offensive matter, which had already been drawn up by wise and venerable men with that view. "Were it but come to that!" he adds; "but scarcely can we expect it."*

Yet never did parties approximate more nearly than at the conference of Ratisbon, in the year 1541. The state of politics was remarkably favourable. The emperor, who wanted to employ the whole force of the empire against Turkey or France, wished for nothing more ardently than a complete and general reconciliation. He selected Gropper and Julius Pflug, the most judicious and temperate amongst the German divines, to attend the conference. On the other hand, landgrave Philip was once more on good terms with Austria, by whose influence he hoped to obtain the chief command in the war which was preparing: with admiration and delight the emperor beheld him ride into Ratisbon on his noble charger, powerful and vigorous as himself. The pacific Bucer, the gentle Melancthon, appeared on the protestant side.

How earnestly the pope desired a successful issue of this meeting, is sufficiently shown by the choice

* *Instructiones pro Rev^{mo}. D. Ep. Mutinensi Apostolico Nuncio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maij, 1540, celebrando.* "Timendum est atque adeo certo sciendum, ista, quæ in his articulis pie et prudenter continentur, non solum fretos salvo conductu esse eos recusaturos, verum etiam ubi mors præsens immineret, illam potius præelecturos." (App. No. 25.)

of the legate whom he sent : that very Gaspar Contarini, whom we have seen so deeply imbued with the new opinions which pervaded Italy, so actively engaged in the project of universal reform. He now appeared in a still more important position ; occupying the centre between two creeds and two parties which divided the world ; charged at a most favourable crisis with the commission, and actuated by the desire, to reconcile them ; a position which renders it, if not necessary, yet allowable, to take a nearer view of his personal character and history.

Messer Gaspar Contarini, the eldest son of a noble house of Venice which traded to the Levant, had devoted himself with peculiar zeal to philosophical studies. His manner of pursuing them is not unworthy of note. He set apart three hours every day for study, in the strict sense of the word : never more nor less. He began every time with an exact repetition of what he had read ; whatever he undertook he persevered in to the end ; he did nothing in a desultory manner.* He did not suffer himself to be seduced by the subtleties of Aristotle's commentators into similar subtleties ; he perceived that none were more acute than those who sought to deceive. He displayed remarkable talent, and still more remarkable steadiness. He did not aim at the ornaments of speech, but expressed himself simply and appositely. The growth and structure of his mind were marked by that regular

* Joannis Casæ Vita Gasparis Contarini : in Jo. Casæ Monumenta Latina, ed. Hal. 1708, p. 88.

sequence which we see in the processes of nature. As the tree is clothed each year with its circle of bark, so did his mind acquire its regular portion of compass and solidity.

At an early age he was elected member of the Pregadi, the senate of his native city, but for some time he ventured not to speak. He wished it, for he had no want of matter to communicate, but he could not find courage. When at length he prevailed upon himself to address the assembly, he spoke neither gracefully, indeed, nor wittily, nor with vehemence and animation, but so simply and profoundly, that he gained the highest respect and consideration.

His lot was cast in the most stirring times. He beheld his country's loss of territory and aided her to regain it. On Charles V.'s first arrival in Germany, he was sent as ambassador to his court, where he witnessed the beginning of the divisions in the church. He arrived in Spain just as the ship *Vittoria* returned from the first voyage round the world*, and was, as far as I have been able to find, the first to solve the problem why she arrived a day later than her journal indicated. He aided in bringing about a reconciliation between the pope (to whom he was sent after the conquest of Rome) and the emperor. His little book on the Venetian constitution, a very instructive and well-conceived work, and the reports of his embassies, which still

* Beccatello, *Vita del C. Contarini* (Epp. Poli, iii.), p. ciii. There is likewise a separate edition, which, however, is only taken from the volume of letters, and contains the same number of pages.

exist in manuscript, are clear and striking proofs of his accurate, penetrating view of the world, and of his intelligent patriotism.*

One Sunday of the year 1535, just as the great council was assembled, and Contarini, who meanwhile had been advanced to the most important offices, sat by the voting urn, the news arrived that pope Paul, whom he did not know—with whom he had no connexion—had appointed him cardinal. All flocked round him, surprised, incredulous as he was, to wish him joy. Aluise Mocenigo, who had hitherto been his political opponent, exclaimed, that the republic had lost her best citizen.†

This honourable promotion was not, however, unattended with painful circumstances. Should he leave his free paternal city, which offered him her highest dignities, or, at all events, a field of activity in which he might labour on terms of perfect equality with the heads of the state, for the service of a pope, often swayed by mere passion, and subject to no legal restraints? Should he abandon the republic of his ancestors, where the manners suited his own, in order to measure himself against others in the luxury and splendour of the court of Rome? We are assured, that the consideration, that in such critical times an example of the contempt of so

* The first is dated 1525, the other 1530. The first contains very important information relating to the earlier times of Charles V. I have found no trace of it either in Vienna or Venice. At Rome I discovered a copy, but have never obtained sight of another. (App. No. 18.)

† Daniel Barbaro to Domenico Veniero; *Lettere Volgari*, i. 73.

exalted a dignity would have an injurious effect, mainly determined him to accept it.*

He now directed all the zeal which he had hitherto displayed in the service of his country to the affairs of the church generally. He was often opposed by the cardinals, who thought it strange that one just come among them, a Venetian, should attempt to reform the court of Rome. Sometimes even the pope was against him. On one occasion, when he opposed the nomination of a cardinal, "We know," said the pope, "how people navigate these waters. The cardinals don't love that another should equal them in dignity." "I do not think," replied Contarini offended, "that the cardinal's hat is my highest honour."

He retained, even in Rome, his simple, severe, and industrious habits; the elevation and the mildness of his character.

Nature adorns the simplest plant with the flower in which it breathes out, and by which it communicates, its being; and so in man, the disposition, or character (i. e. the result of the combined powers of his whole organization), determines his conduct and manners, and even the expression of his person and countenance.

In Contarini this character was mildness, innate truth, pure morality; above all, that deep religious conviction which gives man happiness because it gives him light.

Endowed with such a character, temperate, almost sharing the views of the protestants on the

* Casa, p. 102.

weightiest point of doctrine, Contarini appeared in Germany. By a regeneration of the doctrine of the church emanating from this very point, and by the removal of abuses, he hoped to heal the divisions of Christendom.

Whether, however, they were not already too wide,—whether the diverging opinions had not already struck too deep and strong root,—are questions upon which I should be loath to decide.

Another Venetian, Marino Giustiniano, who quitted Germany shortly before this diet, and who appears to have attentively observed the state of things, represents it as very possible that this was the case.* He, however, regards some concessions as indispensable, and specifies the following:—That the pope should no longer claim to be considered Christ's vicegerent in temporal as well as in spiritual things; that in place of ignorant and vicious bishops and priests, substitutes should be appointed, irreproachable in their lives, and capable of instructing the people; that neither the sale of masses, nor plurality of livings, nor the abuse of compositions should any longer be tolerated; that the transgression of the rules of fasting should be visited, at most, with light punishments; if, added to these reforms, the communion in the two kinds and the marriage of priests were conceded, the Germans would, he thinks, immediately abjure their schism, would pay obedience to the pope in

* *Relazione del Clar^{mo}. M. Marino Giustinian Kav^r. (ritornato) dalla legazione di Germania sotto Ferdinando, re di Romani. Bibl. Corsini at Rome. No. 481.*

spiritual things, would give up their opposition to the mass and auricular confession, and acknowledge the necessity of good works as a fruit of faith,—so far, that is, as they proceed from faith. As the existence of abuses had given birth to schism, a removal of them might put an end to it.

We ought also here to remember, that landgrave Philip of Hesse had declared the year before, that the temporal power of the bishops might be tolerated, provided means could be found to secure the due administration of the spiritual power; that an agreement might be come to respecting the mass, provided only the sacrament in both kinds was conceded.* Joachim of Brandenburg declared himself willing to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, doubtless under certain conditions.

Meanwhile, advances were made from the other side also. The imperial ambassador repeatedly said, that concessions must be made on both sides, as far as was consistent with God's honour. Even those who did not protest would have gladly seen the spiritual power taken, throughout Germany, from the bishops (who were become to all intents princes) and vested in superintendents, and a general change in the administration of church pro-

* Letter from the landgrave in Rommel's *Urkundenbuch*, p. 85. Compare the letter of the bishop of Lunden in Seckendorf, p. 299. Contarini al Cl. Farnese, 1541, 28 April, (Epp. Poli, iii. p. cclv.) The landgrave and the elector both insisted upon the marriage of the clergy, and the administration of the sacrament, in the two kinds; the former raised the most difficulties with regard to the primacy, the latter with regard to the doctrine, "*de missa quod sit sacrificium.*"

perty agreed upon. People already began to talk of indifferent things which might be either done or omitted ; even in the ecclesiastical electorates prayers were put up by authority for the successful issue of the work of reconciliation.

We will not dispute about the degree of the possibility or probability of this success ; it was, at all events, extremely difficult ; but if there were the slightest prospect of it, it was worth the attempt. Thus much at least is clear,—that a strong desire for it had again taken possession of the minds of men,—that extraordinary hopes were attached to it.

The doubt was, however, whether the pope, without whom nothing could be done, was disposed to abate any thing of the rigour of his demands. On this point a passage in his instructions to Contarini is very remarkable.*

He did not invest that prelate with the unlimited powers which the emperor had desired. He conjectured that demands might arise in Germany which no legate, with which not even the pope himself, could venture to comply, without the advice of other nations. He did not however decline all negotiation. “ We must first see,” says he, “ whether the protestants will agree with us on certain principles ; *e. g.* on the supremacy of the holy see, on the sacraments, and some other points.” If we inquire what these other points

* *Instructio data Rev^{mo}. Cli. Contareno in Germaniam legato*, d. 28 mensis Januarii, 1541. In many libraries in manuscript ; printed in Quirini ; Epp. Poli, iii. cclxxxvi.

were, we find that the pope does not express himself distinctly about them. He describes them as "what is sanctioned both by the holy scripture and by the perpetual usages of the church; the legate knows what they are." "On this basis," he adds, "an attempt may be made to come to a mutual understanding on all disputed questions."*

There can be no doubt that this vague language was used designedly. Paul III. probably wished to try to what point Contarini could bring affairs, and had no mind to bind himself beforehand to a ratification of his proposals. He left the legate a certain latitude. Without doubt it would have cost Contarini fresh efforts to render acceptable to the obstinate Curia concessions which, though perhaps obtained with difficulty at Ratisbon, could not possibly be satisfactory at Rome. But every thing depended, in the first place, on a reconciliation and union of the assembled divines. The mediating power was far too weak and vacillating; as yet it had hardly a name, nor could it hope to

* "Videndum imprimis est, an protestantes etii qui ab ecclesiæ gremio defecerunt, in principiis nobiscum convenient, cujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus, tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ sacramenta et alia quædam, quæ tum sacrarum litterarum autoritate, tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione, hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus, quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur." It is necessary in all this to keep constantly in view the position of the pope, which was orthodox in the extreme, and from its very nature unyielding. This alone will enable us to perceive how much lay in such a turn of affairs.

obtain any valid influence until it could assume a firm station.

On the 5th of April, 1541, the negociation opened; the basis of it being a project which had been communicated to the emperor, and approved, after some slight alterations, by Contarini. Even here, at the very outset, the legate held it advisable to depart a step from his instructions. The pope had required, in the first place, the acknowledgment of his supremacy. Contarini saw clearly that the whole enterprise might be wrecked, at its very commencement, on this obstacle, by which the passions of the assembly were so likely to be aroused. He therefore allowed the article on the supremacy of the pope to be the last presented for discussion, instead of the first. He thought it better to begin with those in which he and his friends approximated to the protestants, and which were also points of the highest importance as to the grounds of faith. He took the principal part in the discussions upon them. His secretary affirms that nothing was determined by the catholic divines, that even no specific alteration was attempted, until it had been submitted to him.* Morone, bishop of Modena, and Tommaso da Modena, the master of the sacred palace, who held the same opinion on the article of justification, were his supporters.† A German divine, Dr. Eck, the old opponent of Luther, threw the greatest difficulties in the way; but by compelling him to discuss it point by point, he too

* Beccatelli, *Vita del Cardinal Contarini*, p. cxvii.

† Pallavicini, *iv.*, xiv., p. 433, from Contarini's letters.

was at length brought to a satisfactory explanation. In a short time the whole assembly actually came to an agreement (who would have ventured to hope it?) on the four important articles, of the nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification. Contarini admitted the cardinal point of the Lutheran doctrine,—that the justification of man was wrought by faith alone, without merit; he only added that this faith must be living and active. Melancthon declared that this was in fact the protestant faith itself*; Bucer boldly affirmed that in the articles agreed upon every thing was included, necessary to a pious, upright, and holy life before God and towards man†; equal satisfaction was expressed on the other side. The bishop of Aquila calls this conference holy; he doubts not that it will bring about the reconciliation of Christendom. Contarini's friends, who sympathized in his opinions, heard with joy what progress he had made towards this end. "When I observed this unanimity of opinion," writes Pole to him, "I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired me with; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but because these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian

* Melancthon to Camerar, 10th May, (Epp. p. 360 :) "*adsentiantur justificari homines fide et quidem in eam sententiam ut nos docemus.*" Compare Planck, *Gesch. d. protest. Lehrbegriffs*, iii., ii., 93.

† All the negotiations and writings for the reconciliation of the religious parties, executed by his imperial majesty, A.D. 1541, by Martin Bucer, in Hortleder, book i. chap. 37, page 280.

faith. They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of faith, works, and justification; upon the latter, however,—justification—all the rest are grounded; and I wish you joy, and thank God, that the divines of both parties have agreed upon that. We hope that He who hath begun so mercifully, will complete His work.”*

This, if I mistake not, was a most eventful crisis for Germany, and indeed for the world. To the former, the points which we have touched upon included the project of altering the entire ecclesiastical constitution of the nation, and of giving it, with relation to the pope, a freer and more independent position, beyond the reach of his temporal encroachments. The unity of the church, and with it that of the nation, would have been preserved; but other far more extensive and lasting consequences would have resulted. If the moderate party, with which this attempt originated, and by which it was conducted, had been able to maintain its superiority in Rome and Italy, what an entirely different aspect would the catholic world necessarily have assumed!

So remarkable a result, however, could not be

* Polus Contareno. Capranicæ, 17th May, 1541. Epp. Poli, i. iii. p. 25. The letters in Rainaldus, 1541, No. 11, 12, by this bishop of Aquila, are also remarkable. It was thought that if they could once come to a conclusion on the point of the Lord's supper, every other difficulty would easily be got over. “Id unum est quod omnibus spem maximam facit, assertio Cæsaris se nullo pacto nisi rebus bene compositis discessurum, atque etiam quod omnia scitu consiliisque rev^{mi}. legati in colloquio a nostris theologis tractantur et disputantur.”

attained without a vehement struggle. What was determined upon in Ratisbon, had to be confirmed, on the one side by the approbation of the pope, on the other, by the consent of Luther, to whom an express embassy was sent. But many difficulties already presented themselves. Luther could not persuade himself that the doctrine of justification had taken root among the catholics. He regarded, and with justice, his old opponent as incorrigible, and he knew him to have taken an active share in these deliberations. Luther saw nothing in the articles agreed upon but a patchwork combination of both creeds; and as he always imagined himself involved in a conflict between heaven and hell, he thought that here too he detected the wiles and works of Satan. He most urgently dissuaded his master, the elector, from attending the diet in person,—“He was the very man the devil was in search of.”* And it was true that much depended on the presence and the consent of the elector.

Meanwhile, these articles had also arrived at Rome, where they excited extraordinary attention. The declaration concerning justification, especially, was regarded with great antipathy by cardinals Caraffa and San Marcello, and it was with considerable trouble that Priuli could make the meaning of it clear to them.† The pope did not express himself so decidedly about it as Luther. Cardinal Farnese sent word to the legates, “his

* Luther to John Frederick, in De Wette's collection, v. 353.

† I cannot pardon Quirini for not having given entire Priuli's letter concerning these transactions, which he had in his hands.

holiness neither approves nor disapproves the conclusion you have come to. But all others who have seen it are of opinion, that if the meaning of it be in conformity with the catholic faith, the words might be more clear and precise."

But however violent might be this theological opposition, it was neither the only one, nor perhaps the most effective. Another arose from political causes.

A reconciliation, such as was intended, would have given to Germany an unwonted unity, and to the emperor, who might have turned this to account, an extraordinary accession of power.* As head of the moderate party, he would of necessity have acquired the highest consideration throughout Europe, especially whenever a council was convened. Against such a state of things all the usual hostilities naturally arose.

Francis I. thought himself directly menaced, and neglected no means of preventing the union. He remonstrated vehemently against the concessions which the legate had made at Ratisbon.† He com-

* There always existed an imperial party, which defended this tendency. In this lies the whole secret, among other things, of the negotiations of the archbishop of Lunden. He had represented to the emperor: "che se S.M. volesse tolerare che i Lutherani stessero nelli loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta la Germania." Instruzione di Paolo III., a Montepulciano, 1539. (App. No. 24.) At that time the emperor also wished for toleration.

† He spoke about it with the papal ambassadors at his court; Il Cl. di Mantova al Cl. Contarini, in Quirini, iii., cclxxviii.; Loces, 17 Maggio 1541: "S. Mà. Ch^{ma}. diveniva ogni dì più ardente nelle cose della chiesa, le quali era risoluto di voler difendere e sostenere con tutte le sforze sue e con la vita sua e

plained that "his conduct disheartened the good and raised the hopes of the bad; that out of obsequiousness to the wishes of the emperor he had let things go so far that they were become irremediable. The advice of other princes ought to have been asked." He affected to think the pope and the church in danger. He promised to defend them with his life,—with all the resources of his kingdom.

And already other scruples besides the theological ones we have mentioned had begun to strike root in Rome. It was remarked, that at the opening of the diet, when the emperor announced a general council, he did not add, that the pope alone had power to summon it. People thought they perceived indications of his laying claim to this right himself; they even affected to detect a passage aiming that way in the old articles concluded with Clement VII. at Barcelona. And did not the protestants constantly assert that it rested with the emperor to convene a council? How easily might he be led to agree with them, where his interest so obviously coincided with their doctrine!*

Here then lay the greatest danger of a rupture.

de' figliuoli, giurandomi che da questo si moveva principalmente a far questo officio." Granvella had, on the other hand, different instructions: "M'affermò," says Contarini, in a letter to Farnese, *ibid.* cclv., "con giuramento, havere in mano lettere del Re Christ^{mo}, il quale scrive a questi principi protestanti, che non si accordino in alcun modo, e che lui aveva voluto veder l'opinioni loro, le quali non li spiacevano." According to this, Francis I. would have hindered the reconciliation on both sides.

* Ardinghello, al nome del Cl. Farnese al Cl. Contarini, 29 Maggio, 1541.

Germany too was astir. Giustiniano affirms that the power which the landgrave had acquired by placing himself at the head of the protestant party, inspired others with the thought of gaining a similar influence by taking the lead of the catholics. A member of this diet informs us that the dukes of Bavaria were disinclined to all accommodation. The elector of Mayence also was decidedly hostile to it. He warned the pope, in a private letter, against a national council, nay, against any council held in Germany, where "too much must be conceded."* Other documents addressed to the pope are in existence, in which other German catholics lament over the progress which protestantism is making at the diet, the concessions of Gropper and Pflug, and the absence of the catholic princes from the conference.†

In short, there arose in Rome, France and Germany, among the enemies of Charles V., among those who were, either in truth or in seeming, the most zealous catholics, a violent opposition to his schemes of conciliation. In Rome an unwonted intimacy was observed between the pope and the French ambassador; it was said that Clement intended to give his grand-niece, Vittoria Farnese, in marriage to a Guise.

* *Literæ Cardinalis Moguntini in Rainaldus, 1541, n. 27.*

† Anonymous, also in Rainaldus, No. 25. From which side they came, is easy to see from the fact, that Eck is thus spoken of: "*Unus duntaxat peritus theologus adhibitus est.*" They are full of insinuations against the emperor. "*Nihil,*" it is there said, "*ordinabitur pro robore ecclesiæ, quia timetur illi (Cæsari) displicere.*"

It was impossible that these agitations should not have a strong effect on the clergy. Eck, however, remained in Bavaria. "The enemies of the emperor," says Contarini's secretary, "in and out of Germany, who feared his greatness, inasmuch as he would have united all Germany, began to sow tares among the clergy of the empire. Carnal envy broke up this conference."* When such were the difficulties which attended the entire project, it is no wonder if men could no longer agree on any single article.

It is an exaggeration to ascribe the blame of this exclusively, or even mainly, to the protestants. In a short time the pope announced to the legate his positive will, that he should, neither in his public nor private capacity, approve any decision in which the catholic belief was expressed otherwise than in words which left no room for ambiguity. The formula in which Contarini had thought to unite the different opinions concerning the supremacy of the pope and the authority of councils, was absolutely rejected at Rome.† The legate was obliged to submit to make explanations which appeared inconsistent with his former professions.

That something might be effected, the emperor wished at least that the formulæ which had been

* Beccatelli Vita, p. cxix. "Hora il diavolo, che sempre alle buone opere s'attraversa, fece sì che sparsa questa fama della concordia che tra catholici e protestanti si preparava, gli invidi dell' imperatore in Germania e fuori, che la sua grandezza temevano, quando tutti gli Alemanni fussero stati uniti, cominciavano a seminare zizania tra quelli theologi collocutori."

† Ardinghello a Contarini. Idem, p. ccxxiv.

constructed should be adopted until further proceedings, in regard to those articles which had been agreed upon ; and that, in regard to the rest, each side should consent to tolerate the differences of the other. But neither Luther nor the pope could be moved to acquiesce in this arrangement. The cardinal was instructed that the sacred college had unanimously determined, on no condition to consent to tolerance on such important articles.

After such high hopes, after so prosperous a beginning, Contarini returned, having accomplished nothing. He wished to accompany the emperor to the Netherlands, but this was forbidden him. On his arrival in Italy he was condemned to hear the calumnies which were disseminated from Rome over the whole country, concerning the concessions which it was pretended he had made to the protestants. He was too high-minded not to feel all the bitterness of a failure in such grand and comprehensive projects. How noble, how liberal was the position which the moderate catholic faith had assumed in his person ! But as it had not succeeded in accomplishing its designs for the reformation and pacification of the world, it became a question whether it could maintain its own existence.

It is a necessary condition of every great and important tendency of human opinion, that it should be strong enough to establish its authority, and achieve its triumph. It must predominate or perish.

§ 3. NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Meanwhile another tendency of the age had begun to manifest itself, nearly akin in its origin to that we have just described, but diverging more and more widely from it as it advanced on its course. This, too, had reform for its object, yet it was directly opposed to protestantism.

When Luther rejected the entire principle and scheme of the priesthood, as it had hitherto existed, a counter movement arose in Italy for the purpose of restoring this principle to its original significancy, and giving it new power in the church by enforcing a more rigid adherence to it.

Both sides were conscious of the depravation of ecclesiastical institutions.

But whilst in Germany men were contented with nothing less than the dissolution of monastic bodies, in Italy they sought to regenerate them; whilst the clergy in the former country emancipated themselves from many of the bonds which they had hitherto borne, in the latter, the grand aim was to give to the body a stricter constitution. On this side the Alps men struck into an entirely new path; on the other, they repeated an experiment which had been tried from time to time for centuries: for from the earliest ages ecclesiastical institutions had followed after the corruptions of the world, and then again, not unfrequently, had recollected their origin and retraced their steps. Even in their day the Carlovingians had found it ne-

cessary to enforce the rule of Chrodegang, which bound the clergy to community of life and to voluntary subordination. The simple rule of Benedict of Nursia did not long suffice for the maintenance of order even in the religious houses. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the necessity of a return to the purity and strictness of primitive Christianity gave rise to numerous small and secluded congregations with peculiar rules, after the example of Cluny. This immediately re-acted upon the secular clergy. The introduction of celibacy had, as we have already remarked, nearly the effect of subjecting the whole body to the rule of a monastic order. Nevertheless, and in spite of the great religious impulse which the Crusades had given to all the nations of Europe,—an impulse so strong that nobles and knights gave to the profession of arms the forms of monastic rules,—all these institutions had fallen into utter decay, when the mendicant orders arose. At their commencement they unquestionably tended to bring back the primitive simplicity and severity of the church. But we have seen how even they gradually became more worldly and licentious,—how one of the most striking phases of the corruption of the church was exhibited in them.

As early as from the year 1520, the wider the spread of protestantism in Germany, the stronger was the feeling of the necessity of a reform in the hierarchical institutions in those countries where it had not yet penetrated. This feeling, which was continually gaining ground, manifested itself in the

orders themselves,—sometimes in one, sometimes in another.

Spite of the extreme seclusion of the order of Camaldoli, Paolo Giustiniani found it tainted with the common corruption. In the year 1522 he founded a new congregation of the same order, called, from the mountain on which their chief establishment was situated, Monte Corona.* Giustiniani held three things essential to the attainment of spiritual perfection ;—solitude, vows, and the separation of the monks into distinct cells. In one of his letters he mentions with peculiar satisfaction the little cells and oratories which we still find perched on the tops of mountains, in the midst of those sublime and enchanting wilds which invite the soul at once to lofty aspiration and to deep repose.† The reforms introduced by these hermits spread themselves over the whole world.

Among the Franciscans, perhaps the most profoundly corrupted of all the orders, a new reform was attempted, in addition to the many which had already been tried. The Capuchins aimed at restoring the regulations of the first founder ; the midnight service, the prayer at certain appointed hours, the discipline and the silence,—in short the whole

* The foundation may reasonably be dated from the drawing up of the rules, after Masacio was ceded to the new congregation, in 1522. Basciano, the successor of Giustiniani, was the founder of Monte Corona. Helyot: *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, v. p. 271.

† Lettera del b. Giustiniano al Vescovo Teatino, in Bromato, *Storia di Paolo IV.* lib. iii. § 19.

austere rule of life of the original institution. We cannot avoid smiling at the importance they attached to trifles ; but we must also acknowledge, that when occasion demanded, for example during the plague of 1528, they behaved with admirable courage.

Meanwhile little was effected by a reform of the orders alone, since the secular clergy were so entirely estranged from their vocation. If a reformation was really to be efficient, it must reach them likewise.

Here again we encounter members of that Roman Oratory so often mentioned. Two of them, men, as it appears, of characters in all other respects entirely opposite, undertook to prepare the way for this great change. The one, Gaetano da Thiene, peaceful, retiring, mild, of few words, inclined to the raptures of religious enthusiasm ; of whom it was said, that he wished to reform the world, but without having it known that he was in the world* : the other, Gianpietro Caraffa, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more at length, violent, turbulent, a fierce zealot. But Caraffa had discovered, as he confessed, that the more he had followed after his desires, the more his heart had been oppressed ; that it could find rest only when it quitted

* Caracciolus : *Vita S. Cajetani Thienæi*, c. ix. 101. "In conversatione humilis, mansuetus, modestus, pauci sermonis,—meminique me illum sæpe vidisse inter precandum lacrymantem." He is very well described in the testimony of a pious society at Vicenza, which is also to be found in the same author, c. i. No. 12.

itself for God, when it communed with heavenly things. They felt, therefore, in common, the want of seclusion (a want which in the one was the result of natural disposition, in the other, of unsatisfied longings and aspirations,) and the inclination to spiritual activity. Persuaded of the necessity of a reform, they united themselves to an institution called the order of the Theatins, the objects of which were contemplation, and at the same time the reformation of the clergy.*

Gaetano belonged to the *Protonari partecipanti*; he gave up his benefice. Caraffa possessed the bishopric of Chieti and the archbishopric of Brindisi; he renounced them both.† On the 14th of September, 1524, they, and two intimate friends, who had also been members of the Oratory, solemnly took the three vows‡;—the vow of poverty, with the special addition, not only to possess nothing, but to avoid begging, and to await the alms that might be brought to their house. After a short residence in the town, they occupied a small house on Monte Riccio near the Vigna

* Caracciolus, c. 2, § 19. declares their intention: “clericis, quos ingenti populorum exitio improbitas inscitiaque corrupissent, clericos alios debere suffici, quorum opera damnum quod illi per pravam exemplum intulissent sanaretur.”

† In a letter by the Pope's Datarius, 22d Sept. 1524 (*Lettere di Principi*, i. 135), we see, on good authority, that the pope refused for a long time to accept the renunciation (*non volendo privare quelle chiese di così buon pastore*). He yielded at last only to the reiterated and pressing entreaties of Caraffa.

‡ We find the documents relating to this subject in the *Commentarius prævius*. AA. SS. Aug. II. 249.

Capisucchi, which was afterwards converted into the Villa Medici. Here, though within the walls of Rome, there reigned at that time a profound solitude; here they passed their lives in the poverty which they had prescribed to themselves, in spiritual exercises, and in a study of the gospels, the plan of which was exactly laid down and repeated every month. They afterwards went down into the city to preach.

They did not call themselves monks, but regular clergy. They were priests, with monks' vows. Their aim was to establish a kind of seminary for priests; the charter of their foundation expressly permitting them to admit the secular clergy. They did not originally prescribe to themselves any precise form and colour of vestments, but left them to be determined by the usages of the clergy of each country. They likewise permitted the services of the church to be performed everywhere according to the customs of the country. They thus emancipated themselves from many things which fettered the monks; expressly declaring that, neither in habits of life, nor in the performance of divine service, ought any usage whatsoever to be binding on the conscience.* On the other hand, they devoted themselves to the clerical duties of

* Rule of the Theatins in Bromato: Vita di Paolo IV. lib. iii. § 25. "Nessuna consuetudine, nessun modo di vivere, o rito che sia, tanto di quelle cose, che spettano al culto divino, e in qualunque modo fannosi in chiesa, quanto di quelle, che pel viver commune in casa, o fuori da noi, si sogliono praticare, non permettiamo in veruna maniera, che acquistino vigore di precetto."

preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the care of the sick.

Then was seen again what had long fallen into disuse in Italy; priests appeared with the cap, the cross, and the clerical gown in the pulpit, shortly after in the oratory, and frequently in the form of missions, in the streets. Caraffa himself preached, and poured forth that copious and vehement eloquence which distinguished him till his death. He and his associates, most of them men of noble birth, who might have revelled in the enjoyments of life, began to seek out the sick in their habitations and in hospitals, and to administer the last consolations to the dying.

This return to the performance of the clerical duties was of vast importance. The order of Theatins was not, indeed, properly a seminary of priests,—it was not sufficiently numerous for that; but it gradually grew into a seminary of bishops. It became in time the order of priests peculiar to the nobility; and as it had been carefully remarked from the beginning, that the new members were of noble extraction, at a later period, proofs of nobility were, in some places, requisite to admission. It is clear, that the original plan of living on alms, without begging, could be adhered to only under such conditions.

The main thing however was, that the excellent idea of uniting the duties and the sacred character of the clergy with the vows of monks, found acceptance and imitation in other places.

From the year 1521, Upper Italy had been the

scene of perpetual war, attended by its usual train, devastation, famine, and disease. Numbers of children were left orphans and exposed to the utter ruin of body and soul. Happily for mankind, pity is never far from the dwellings of woe. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Uriani, gathered together the children who had come as fugitives and wanderers to Venice, and took them into his house. He sought them out in the islands and in the city. Disregarding the reproaches of his sister-in-law, he sold the silver utensils and the most beautiful tapestry of his house, in order to provide the destitute children with lodging and clothing, food and instruction. He gradually devoted all his energies to this vocation.

His success was great, especially in Bergamo. The hospital which he founded there met with such effectual support, that he took courage to make similar experiments in other cities. By degrees, hospitals of this kind were founded in Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa. At length he and a few friends of like inclinations and opinions formed themselves into a congregation of regular clergy, after the model of the Theatins, and bearing the name of di Somasca. They devoted themselves chiefly to the education of the poor. Their hospitals were all placed under one constitution.*

* “*Approbatio societatis tam ecclesiasticarum, quam secularium personarum, nuper institutæ ad erigendum hospitalia pro subventionem pauperum orphanorum et mulierum convertitarum:*” (which last object had been joined with the first in some

If ever a city was destined to feel every misery and horror attendant on war, it was Milan, so frequently besieged and conquered by one or other of the hostile parties. To mitigate these evils by works of mercy and beneficence, to remove the barbarism and depravity consequent on them by instruction, preaching, and example, was the aim of the three founders of the order of Barnabites,—Zaccaria, Ferrari, and Morigia. A Milanese chronicle relates with what wonder these new priests were regarded in their homely dress and round cap, all with downcast eyes, all in the bloom of youth. They lived together in a house near St. Ambrose. Countess Lodovica Torella, who sold her paternal inheritance of Guastalla and applied the money to good works, was the chief contributor to their support.*

The Barnabites, like the Theatins, had the form of regular clergy.

But whatever these congregations might effect within their sphere, they were disqualified from, or inadequate to, any universal thorough reform; either, as in the case of the one last mentioned, by the limited nature of their object, or, as in that of the Theatins, by a paucity of means which lay in the very nature of the institution. They are remarkable, as affording by their voluntary origin

places.) Bull of Paul III., 5th June 1540. Bullarium. Cocque-lines, iv. 173. It appears however by the bull of Pius V., "Injunctum Nobis," 6th Dec. 1568, that the members of this congregation first laid aside their vows at that time.

* Chronicle of Burigazzo in Custode: Continuation by Verri: Storia di Milano, iv. p. 88.

indications of a great tendency which contributed incalculably to the renovation of catholicism. But to stem the mighty torrent of protestantism, far other powers were required.

Such powers rose into existence; and, like those we have been contemplating, grew into strength and importance, though the manner and character of their growth was as singular, as their birth was unlooked for.

§ 4. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

THE Spanish chivalry was the only one in the world which had retained some tincture of its religious spirit. The wars with the Moors, which were hardly terminated in the peninsula, and still continued on the opposite coast of Africa; the presence of the subjugated Moriscoes, with whom the intercourse of the Spaniards was one of incessant religious animosity, and the adventurous expeditions against the infidels of another hemisphere,—all conspired to keep alive this spirit. In books like the *Amadis de Gaul*, full of simple, enthusiastic, loyal bravery, this spirit was idealized. The potency of its inspirations was never so strikingly manifested as in the life of the singular man whose history we shall briefly trace.

Don *Iñigo Lopez de Recalde*,* the youngest son

* He is thus called in the judicial acts. Nothing can be inferred against the genuineness of the name *Recalde*, from the fact that it is not known how he came by it. *Acta Sanctorum*, 34 Julii. *Commentarius prævius*, p. 410.

of the house of Loyola, was born in the castle of that name, between Azpeitia and Azcoitia in Guipuscoa, of a race so noble that its head was always invited to do homage by a special writ,—“*de parientes mayores* ;”—and reared at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and in the suite of the duke of Najara. He aspired after the reputation of knight-hood ;—splendid arms and noble steeds, the fame of valour, the adventures of single combat and of love, were not less attractive to him than to any of his youthful compeers. But he was also strongly imbued with the religious spirit. At the time we are speaking of he had composed a romance of chivalry, the hero of which was the first apostle.*

Probably, however, we should now only find his name enrolled among the host of valiant Spanish captains to whom Charles V. afforded so many opportunities of gaining distinction, had he not received wounds in both legs at the defence of Pampuna, against the French, in 1521. He was carried to his own house, where the wounds were twice reopened. The intense pain which he bore with unshrinking fortitude was borne in vain : the cure was lamentably incomplete and he was maimed for life. He was versed in romances of chivalry and delighted in them, more especially in the *Amadis*. During his long confinement he also read the life of Christ and of some of the saints.

Romantic and visionary by nature, forced from a career which appeared to promise him the most

* Maffei : *Vita Ignatii*.

brilliant fortunes, compelled to a life of inaction, and rendered irritable and sensitive by illness, he fell into the most extraordinary state of mind conceivable. Not only did he deem the actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which now appeared before him in all the brilliancy of spiritual glory, worthy of imitation, but, while reading them, he felt himself endowed with courage and strength to imitate them,—to emulate the self-denial and the austerities of those holy men.* Frequently, indeed, these aspirations faded before more worldly thoughts. With the same vivacity of imagination, he figured to himself how he would seek out the lady to whose service he had devoted himself in his inmost heart, in the city where she dwelt. “She was no countess,” (he says,) “no duchess, but one of yet higher degree.” With what tender and ardent words he would address her; how he would prove his devotedness; what feats of arms he would perform in her honour:—such were the fantasies which alternately possessed his mind.

But the longer this state continued and the more hopeless was his cure, the more did the spiritual, gain the ascendancy over the earthly visions. Are we guilty of injustice to him if we attribute this to

* The *Acta antiquissima*, a Ludovico Consalvo ex ore Sancti excepta, AA. SS. LL. p. 634. give very authentic information on this point. He once thought: “*Quid, si ego hoc agerem, quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc, quod b. Dominicus?*” And in another place; “*De muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecian una tenia:*” namely, the honour which he thought to pay to his lady. “*Non era condesa ni duquesa mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas.*” A singularly naïf acknowledgment.

his gradual conviction that he would never be wholly restored; never again be fit for military service, or for knightly exploits?

Nor was the transition so abrupt, or the change so absolute, as might be imagined. In his spiritual exercises, whose origin may be dated from the same time as the first rapturous meditations of his awakened spirit, he figures to himself two camps, one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon—the one of Christ, the other of Satan—the one altogether virtuous, the other thoroughly wicked—arrayed for combat. He represents Christ as a king who has issued a command to all nations to subdue the infidels. Whoever would follow him to battle, must be nourished with like food, and clad in like raiment, with Him; he must bear the same toils and the same watchings; according to this measure would be his share in the victory and in the reward: that every man would then confess before Christ, his Holy Mother, and the whole heavenly host, that he had been a faithful follower of his Master, and had been ready to share with Him in all adversities, and to serve Him in true poverty of body and of spirit.*

These wild and fanciful reveries were perhaps the means by which his transition from worldly to spiritual knighthood was effected. For such was the institution, the ideal of which was framed upon the deeds and the authorities of saints, to which all his desires were directed. He tore himself away from

* *Exercitia spiritualia*: *Secunda Hebdomada*. “Contemplatio regni Jesu Christi ex similitudine regis terreni subditos suos evocantis ad bellum;” and other passages.

his father's house and from his kindred, and went to live on Mount Montserrat; not impelled by remorse for his sins, nor by strong and genuine religious aspirations; but, as he himself has told us, solely by the desire to achieve deeds as great as those which have rendered the saints so illustrious; to undergo penances as severe or severer than theirs, and to serve God in Jerusalem. He hung up his lance and shield before an image of the Holy Virgin, and knelt or stood before it in prayer, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand;—a vigil, different, indeed, from that of knighthood, but yet expressly suggested by Amadis,* in which the laws and customs of chivalry are so accurately described. He gave away the knightly dress and accoutrements which he had worn on his journey, and clothed himself in the coarse raiment of the hermits whose solitary dwellings are hewn in those naked rocks. He made a general confession; and fearing that if he proceeded directly to Barcelona, (whither his project of going to Jerusalem would have led him) he would be recognized in the streets, he repaired first to Manresa, whence, after fresh penances, he was to reach the port. But here new trials awaited him. The mood of mind which he had indulged, rather as a sport of the fancy, had obtained almost entire mastery over him and began to manifest all its serious and awful power. In the cell of a Domi-

* Acta antiquissima: "cum mentem rebus iis refertam haberet quæ ab Amadeo de Gaula conscriptæ et ab ejus generis scriptoribus" (which is a strange mistake of the compilers, for Amadis is no author,) "nonnullæ illi similes occurrebant."

nican convent he gave himself up to the severest penances. He rose at midnight to pray; he passed seven hours daily on his knees and scourged himself regularly thrice a day. Not only did he find these ascetic practices so hard that he often doubted whether he should be able to persevere in them all his life, but, what was far more important, he discovered that they did not tranquillize his spirit. On Mount Montserrat he had devoted three days to making a general confession of his whole past life; but he did not think this enough. In Manresa he repeated it; he added long-forgotten sins to the catalogue, and searched the records of his memory for the most venial trifle; but the more he explored, the more painful were the doubts which assailed him. He thought that he could obtain neither acceptance nor justification of God. He read in some of the fathers that God had once been propitiated and moved to compassion by total abstinence from food. He therefore remained from Sunday to Sunday without eating. His confessor forbade him to prolong his fast, and, as he esteemed no quality on earth so highly as obedience, he immediately desisted. At times indeed he felt as if his melancholy was removed from him, and had fallen, as a heavy garment falls from the shoulders; but his mental torments presently returned. It seemed to him that his whole life had been one uninterrupted succession of sins. Sometimes he was tempted to dash himself out of the window.*

* Maffei, Ribadeneira, Orlandino and all the other historians relate these temptations. The documents emanating from Igna-

We are here involuntarily reminded of the state of mental distress into which Luther, some years before, was plunged by very similar doubts. The high demands of religion could never be satisfied, —a full and conscious reconciliation with God could never be reached, on the ordinary road marked out by the church; by a soul shaken to its innermost depths by struggles with itself.

But these two remarkable men extricated themselves from this labyrinth by very different paths. Luther arrived at the doctrine of the atonement through Christ, wholly independent of works: this afforded him the key to the scriptures, and became the main prop of his whole system of faith.

It does not appear that Loyola examined the scriptures, or that any particular dogma of religion made an impression on his mind. As he lived only in his own inward emotions, in thoughts which rose spontaneously in his breast, he imagined that he felt the alternate inspirations of the good and of the evil spirit. At length he learned to distinguish their influences by this,—that the soul was gladdened and consoled by the one, wearied and troubled by the other.* One day he felt as

tius himself are, however, the most authentic: the following passage taken from them describes the state in which he was:—
“Cum his cogitationibus agigaretur, tentabatur sæpe graviter magno cum impetu, ut magno ex foramine quod in cellula erat sese dejiceret. Nec aberat foramen ab eo loco ubi preces fundebat. Sed cum videret esse peccatum se ipsum occidere, rursus clamabat: ‘Domine, non faciam quod te offendat.’”

* One of his most peculiar and most original perceptions, the origin of which he himself carries back to the phantoms of his

if awakened from a dream. He thought he had sensible proof that all his sufferings were assaults of Satan. He determined from that hour to have done with his past life, never to tear open these old wounds, never again to touch them. It was not so much that his mind had found repose, as that he had formed a determination ; rather indeed an engagement entered into by the will, than a conviction to which the will is compelled to yield. It needed not the aid or the influence of scripture ; it rested on the feeling of an immediate intercourse with the world of spirits.

This would never have satisfied Luther. Luther would have no inspirations, no visions ; he held them all without distinction to be mischievous ; he would have only the simple, written, unquestionable word of God. Loyola, on the contrary, lived in fantasies and inward apparitions. He thought no one so well understood christianity as an old woman, who, in the midst of his torments, told him that Christ would yet appear to him. At first he could obtain no such vision, but now he thought that Christ or the Holy Virgin manifested themselves to his eyes of flesh. He stood fixed on the steps of San Dominico, in Manresa, and wept aloud ; for he thought in that moment the mystery of the Holy Trinity was visibly revealed

imagination during illness. It became a certainty whilst he was at Manresa. In the "Spiritual Exercises" it is greatly developed. We there find explicit rules : "*ad motus animæ quos diversi excitant spiritus discernendos, ut boni solum admittantur, et pellantur mali.*"

to him.* The whole day he spoke of nothing else. He was inexhaustible in figures and similes. The mystery of the creation was also suddenly made clear to him in mystical symbols. In the Host, he beheld the God and the Man. On one occasion, he repaired to a remote church on the banks of the Lobregat, and while he sat with his eyes intently fixed on the deep stream which flowed at his feet, he was suddenly elevated in rapturous intuition of the mystery of faith. He arose a new man. For him there needed no longer either evidence or scripture: had none such existed, he would have met death unhesitatingly for that faith which before he believed,—which now he saw.†

If we have clearly traced the origin and development of this most strange state of mind, of this chivalry of abstinence, this constancy of enthusiasm and of romantic ascetism, it will be needless to follow Iñigo Loyola step by step in his further progress through life. He accomplished his purpose of visiting Jerusalem, in the hope of contributing to the edification of believers, no less than to the conversion of infidels. But how was he to effect the latter, ignorant as he was, without associates, without authority? His project of remaining in the holy city was defeated by the

* En figura de tres teclas.

† Acta antiquissima: “his visis, haud mediocriter tum confirmatus est” (in the original, “y le dieron tanta confirmacion siempre de la fe”) “ut sæpe etiam id cogitârit, quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa quæ viderat, statueret sibi pro his esse moriendum.”

positive interdiction he received from the heads of the church at Jerusalem, who held from the pope the express privilege of granting permission to reside there. On his return to Spain he encountered innumerable attacks. When he began to teach and to invite others to share with him those spiritual exercises which he practised, he fell under the suspicion of heresy. It would have been the strangest sport of destiny, if Loyola, whose society centuries afterwards terminated in illuminati, had himself been connected with a sect of that name.* And it cannot be denied that the illuminati of that time (the alumbrados of Spain), to whom he was suspected of belonging, cherished opinions which had a considerable resemblance with his fantastic reveries. Rejecting the doctrine of sanctification by works as heretofore held by all Christendom, they, like him, gave themselves up to inward ecstasies, and, like him, they beheld in immediate and sensible revelation the profoundest mysteries of religion; especially, as they expressly declared, that of the Trinity. Like Loyola and his followers, they made general confession a condition of absolution, and insisted above all things on inward prayer. I cannot indeed affirm with confidence that Loyola had no contact whatever with the professors of these opinions, but neither can it be asserted that he belonged to the sect. He was distinguished from them mainly by this,—that

* Lainez and Borgia have also met with this reproach. Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, iii. 83. Melchior Cano calls them plainly illuminati, the gnostics of the age.

while they believed themselves to be emancipated from all control and raised above all common duties by the command of the spirit, he retained enough of the impressions and habits of his former life, to place at the very head of the list of virtues, the soldier's virtue, obedience. He constantly submitted his enthusiasm and his inward convictions to the church and her authorities.

Meanwhile the obstacles and the attacks which beset his path had a decisive influence on his life. In the condition in which he then was, without learning or profound theological attainments, without political support, his existence must have passed away and left not a trace behind. His highest success could have reached but to a few conversions in his own country. But the necessity imposed on him in Alcala and Salamanca, of studying theology for four years, before he could be permitted to attempt again to teach concerning certain difficult dogmas, compelled him to enter upon a course which gradually opened an unlooked-for field to his religious activity.

He repaired to Paris, then the most renowned school in the world.

The studies of the university were peculiarly difficult to him. He was obliged to pass through the class of grammar, which he had begun in Spain, and that of philosophy, before he could be admitted to the study of theology.* But in the

* According to the oldest chronicle of the Jesuits, *Chronicon Breve*, AA. SS. LL. p. 525, Ignatius was at Paris from 1528 to

midst of the inflexion of words, and the analysis of logical forms, he was seized with the raptures of those profound religious thoughts which he was wont to connect with them. There is something magnanimous in his declaration that these were inspirations of the evil spirit, who sought to seduce him from the right way. He tried to dispel them by the most rigorous discipline. But the new study, that of the actual world, which opened upon him, did not for a moment deaden his spiritual dispositions, or even his zeal in imparting them to others. It was indeed here that he made the first conversions of lasting influence and importance to the world.

Loyola had two companions who shared his rooms in the college of St. Barbara. The one, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, had grown up amid his father's flocks, and under the roof of heaven had solemnly devoted himself to God and to study: the conversion of such a man was not difficult. He repeated the course of philosophy with Ignatius (the name which Iñigo bore among foreigners), who in return, communicated to him his ascetical principles. Ignatius taught his young friend to combat his faults prudently,—not all at once, but one after another, since there was ever some one virtue which he had more especially to aspire after: he exhorted him to frequent confession and participation in the

1535: "*Ibi vero non sine magnis molestiis et persecutionibus primo grammaticæ de integro tum philosophiæ ac demum theologico studio sedulam operam navavit.*"

Lord's supper. They formed the closest intimacy. Ignatius divided the alms which he received in considerable abundance from Spain and Flanders, with Faber.

He had a more difficult task with his other friend, Francesco Xavier of Pamplona in Navarre, whose only ambition it was to add the name of a man illustrious for learning, to the names of ancestors renowned for their military exploits, which graced a pedigree of five hundred years. He was handsome, rich, full of talent, and had already been well received at court. Ignatius did not neglect to pay him the respect to which he laid claim, and to contrive that others should pay it also. He procured him a considerable audience for his first lectures. After these proofs of personal friendship, his example and the imposing severity of his manners failed not of their natural effect. He induced Xavier, as he had his other companion, to perform spiritual exercises under his guidance. He showed them no indulgence, compelling them to fast three days and three nights at a time; nor during the severest winter, while carriages were crossing the frozen Seine, did he allow Faber to relax from this severity of discipline. He gained complete ascendancy over both of them, and made them sharers in his own thoughts and feelings.*

How remarkable was that cell of St. Barbara

* Orlandinus, who has also written a life of Faber, which I have not seen, is likewise, in his great work *Historiæ Societatis Jesu*, pars i. p. 17, more circumstantial on this point than Ribadeneira.

which contained within its narrow walls three such men! which witnessed plans inspired by their wild enthusiasm, and enterprises projected, leading they themselves knew not whither!

We will mark the more striking points in the farther development of this alliance. After three other Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez and Bobadilla, to all of whom Ignatius had rendered himself necessary by counsel or assistance, had joined them, they repaired one day to the church of Montmartre. Faber, who was already in holy orders, said mass. They took the vow of chastity; they swore, after the conclusion of their studies, to pass their lives in Jerusalem, in absolute poverty, devoted to the care of the christians, or to the conversion of the Saracens; and if they should find it impossible to reach the holy city or to abide in it, to offer their labours to the pope for any place to which he might see fit to send them, without remuneration or condition. Each took this oath and received the host from the hands of Faber, who afterwards communicated himself. They then partook of a repast near the fountain of St. Denys.

A compact worthy of young men of wild and extravagant imagination; impossible of fulfilment, founded on the ideas which Ignatius had originally embraced, and departing from them only so far as, on a calculation of possibilities, they despaired of carrying those ideas into effect.

At the beginning of the year 1537, we find them with three other companions in Venice, about to set out on their pilgrimage. We have already

followed Loyola through many changes. We saw him pass from a temporal to a spiritual chivalry; we beheld him beset by the gravest temptations, struggling out of them by means of a fantastic asceticism, and becoming a theologian and the founder of a sect. Now at length his opinions took their final and permanent character. The war which just then broke out between Venice and the Turks hindered his departure, and rendered still more remote the prospect of his pilgrimage; in Venice however he found an institution which first opened his eyes to his true vocation.

For a time Loyola attached himself closely to Caraffa; he even took up his abode in the convent of the Theatins which had been established in Venice. He served in the hospitals which Caraffa superintended, and in which he exercised his novices. It is true that the severe exactions and lofty aspirations of Ignatius were not entirely satisfied by the Theatin institute; and that the representations he addressed to Caraffa, concerning certain changes which ought to be introduced, are said to have created a division between them.* But even this shows how deep an impression it had made upon him. Here he beheld an order of priests devoting themselves with zeal and strictness to the performance of the true clerical duties. If, as appeared more and more clear, he was destined to remain on this side the sea and to employ his activity in

* Sacchinus, "cujus sit autoritatis quod in b. Cajetani Thienæi vita de beato Ignatio traditur," before Orlandinus, thoroughly investigates the nature of the connection between these two remarkable men.

the regions of western Christendom, he readily perceived that this was the only career he could embrace with a prospect of success.

He therefore, together with all his companions, was ordained priest. In Vicenza, after passing forty days in prayer, he and three others began to preach. At the same day and hour they appeared in different streets, mounted upon stones, waving their hats, and calling aloud to repentance. Their appearance was strange; squalid in their dress, wan and haggard with fasting and penance;—their language an unintelligible mixture of Spanish and Italian. In this neighbourhood they remained till the expiration of the year they had determined to stay there. They then proceeded to Rome.

Before they separated to take the different ways they had resolved upon, they drew up certain rules, in order that, even at a distance, they might observe some uniformity of life. They asked each other what they should reply to any inquiries as to their profession. They pleased themselves with the thought of making war on Satan, like soldiers; and, in compliance with the old military tastes and fancies of Ignatius, determined to call themselves the Company of Jesus; just as a company of soldiers bears the name of its captain.*

* Ribadeneira, *Vita brevior*, c. 12., remarks, that Ignatius had chosen this, “*ne de suo nomine diceretur.*” Nigroni explains the word *societas*, “*quasi dicas cohortem aut centuriam quæ ad pugnam cum hostibus spiritualibus conserendam conscripta sit.*” “*Postquam nos vitamque nostram Christo D^{no}. nostro et ejus vero ac legitimo vicario internis obtuleramus,*”—in the *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*, AA. SS. L.L. p. 463.

Their situation at Rome was not an easy or agreeable one ; Ignatius thought he saw every door closed against them, and they were compelled to be once more absolved from the charge of heresy. But here, too, the austerity of their lives, their zeal in preaching and teaching, their attendance on the sick, attracted numerous followers ; and so many manifested a readiness to join them, that they were justified in meditating a formal organization of their company.

They had already bound themselves by two vows. They now took the third, that of obedience ; and as Ignatius had ever held obedience to be one of the highest virtues, they strove to excel all the other monastic orders in that. It was no small thing that they resolved to elect their general for life ; but this did not satisfy them. They added the extraordinary obligation to do whatsoever the then pope should command ; to go into every country whither he chose to send them, among Turks, heathens or heretics, instantly, without discussion, condition, or reward.

What a contrast to the tendency hitherto manifested by that age ! While the pope experienced opposition or desertion from every side, while he had nothing to expect but a lingering and progressive decline, a society of men was formed, volunteers, full of zeal and enthusiasm, with the express purpose of devoting themselves exclusively to his service.

It was impossible for him to hesitate about sanctioning their establishment : at first, in the year

1540, he did this under some limitations; afterwards, in 1543, unconditionally.

Meanwhile the company took the final step. Six of its oldest members met together to choose the president, who, according to the first project submitted to the pope, should allot ranks and offices at his good pleasure, should frame the constitution with the help of the members, and in all other things should have absolute command. In him should Christ be honoured as present. They unanimously chose Ignatius, who, as Salmeron expressed it in his letter of election, had begotten them all in Christ, and had nourished them with the milk of his word.* The society had now acquired its form. It was a company of *chierici regolari*, and though differing in many respects from the other societies of that kind, it was based, like them, on a combination of clerical and monastic duties.

If the Theatins had disregarded many of the less important obligations of religion, the Jesuits went still farther† in that course.

Not only did they entirely reject the monastic habit; they emancipated themselves from the common devotional exercises which consume the

* Suffragium Salmeronis.

† It is in this they place the difference between themselves and the Theatins. Didacus Payba Andradius: *Orthodoxarum Explicatt.* lib. i. fol. 44; "Illi (Theatini), sacrarum æternarumque rerum meditationi psalmodiæque potissimum vacant: isti vero (Jesuitæ), cum divinorum mysteriorum assidua contemplatione, docendæ plebis, evangelii amplificandi, sacramenta administrandi, atque reliqua omnia apostolica munera, conjungunt."

greater part of the time in convents, and from the obligation to sing in the quire.

Having dismissed these less necessary occupations, they devoted their whole time and all their powers to essential duties; not, like the Barnabites, to one in particular (though they made a great point of attendance on the sick, as an effectual means of obtaining a good name); nor under any restrictive conditions, like the Theatins; but, with every effort of which they were capable, to the most weighty.

And in the first place, they devoted themselves to preaching. Before they parted in Vicenza they had promised each other to preach mainly for the common people, and to strive rather after impressive and touching discourse, than after choice phrases. And to this they adhered.

Secondly, to confession:—for with this are immediately connected the guidance and government of consciences. The spiritual exercises through which they themselves were united with Ignatius afforded them great assistance.

Lastly, to the education of youth. They had desired to bind themselves to this occupation by an express clause in their vows; but though they abandoned that design, they enjoined it most strongly in their rule. Their most ardent wish was to gain over the rising generation. In short they threw aside all that was of secondary moment, and devoted themselves entirely to the indispensable, influential duties and practices of their calling.

Thus, out of the visionary schemes of Ignatius,

arose an institution of singularly practical tendency; out of the conversions wrought by his asceticism, an institution framed with all the just and accurate calculation of worldly prudence.

He saw all his expectations far surpassed. He had now the unlimited direction of a society to which he communicated the greater part of his own intuitions; which modeled its religious convictions by study, on those to which he had been led by accident and by genius; which, indeed, did not execute his projects with regard to Jerusalem (projects by which nothing was to be attained), but went forth in other directions on the most remote and the most adventurous missions, and above all, took upon itself that care of souls which he had constantly enjoined, to an extent that he could never have anticipated or guessed; and, lastly, which paid him an obedience uniting that of the soldier and of the monk.

Before we consider more nearly the influence which the Company of Jesus very soon exercised, we must examine one of the causes which had the strongest effect on its condition.

§ 5. FIRST SITTING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

WE have seen what were the interests involved in the demand for a council on the part of the emperor, and in the denial of it on that of the pope. In one respect however, and in one only, a new council might be desirable to the pope. It was

necessary to the zealous inculcation and promulgation of the doctrines of catholicism, that the doubts which had arisen on several points in the bosom of the church herself should be put to rest. A council alone could do this with absolute authority. The only remaining consideration for the pope, therefore, was, that it should be convened at a favourable time, and held under his own influence.

That eventful moment in which the two religious parties had approximated, more nearly than at any former period, to an agreement on a moderate creed lying between the extremes, was therefore the decisive one for this object. The pope, as we have said, thought he perceived that the emperor intended to claim a right to summon a council. At this juncture, assured on all sides of the attachment of the catholic sovereigns, he lost no time in anticipating him.

In the midst of the movements we have briefly described, he definitively resolved to take steps towards an œcumenical council, and to put an end to all delay.* He immediately communicated his intention to Contarini, and through him to the emperor; negotiations were seriously opened; at length the letters of convocation were sent out, and

* Ardinghello al Cl. Contarini, 15 Giugno, 1541, in Quirini, iii., cclxvi: "Considerato che nè la concordia a Christiani è successa e la tolerantia," (which had been proposed at Ratisbon, but rejected by the consistory of the cardinals,) "è illicitissima, e dannosa, e la guerra difficile e pericolosa:—pare a S.S., che si ricorra al rimedio del concilio. . . . Adunque—S. Beatitudine ha determinato di levar via la prorogatione della suspensione del concilio, e di dichiararlo e congregarlo quanto piu presto si potrà."

in the following year we find his legates already in Trent.*

New obstacles, however, arose; the number of the bishops who appeared was too inconsiderable, the times too warlike, and the circumstances not entirely propitious: it was not till December 1545, that the council was actually opened. The old procrastinator had at length found the wished for moment.

For when could a more favourable one occur than that in which the emperor had completely broken with both the chiefs of the protestant party, and was preparing to make war upon them? As he needed the assistance of the pope, he could not substantiate the claims which otherwise he appeared disposed to found upon a council. He would be entirely occupied by war; and it was impossible to foresee the extent of the embarrassments in which the power of the protestants might involve him: he would therefore be little able to press for the reform with which he had threatened the papal chair. In another way too the pope had the means of thwarting his intentions. The emperor demanded that the council should begin with reform; the papal legates carried the resolution that reform and the dogmas of the church should be discussed simultaneously†; while, in fact, dogmas alone were first brought under consideration.

* They arrived on the 22nd November, 1542.

† An expedient brought forward by Thom. Campeggi, Pallavicini, vi. vii. 5. A bull concerning reform had indeed been projected from the beginning, but was never published. Bulla

While the pope found means to avert whatever might have been injurious to him, he seized on whatever was favourable. The firm establishment of the disputed doctrines was, as we have observed, extremely important to him; and this depended upon the question, whether either of the views inclining to the protestant system could consist with the maintenance of the integrity of the catholic faith.

Contarini was no more, but Pole was present, and there were not wanting in the assemblage other warm advocates of these opinions. The question was, whether they could give those opinions weight.

First, (for the proceedings were very systematic) they spoke of revelation itself,—the source from which all knowledge regarding it must necessarily be drawn. Here, even at the very threshold, some voices were raised in favour of opinions leaning to protestantism. Bishop Nachianti of Chiozza, for example, would hear of nothing but scripture; he asserted that every thing was written in the gospel that was necessary to salvation. But he had an immense majority against him. The resolution was passed, that the unwritten traditions received from the mouth of Christ, and handed down to the latest ages under the guardianship of the Holy Ghost, were to be accepted with the same veneration as the holy scriptures. In regard to these, no reference was made to the original text. The vulgate was recognized as the authentic translation;

Reformationis Pauli Papæ III., concepta, non vulgata: primum edidit H. N. Clausen. Havn. 1829.

only it was determined that for the future it should be most carefully printed.*

After the basis had thus been settled, (by which it was said, not without reason, that half the business was accomplished,) the council proceeded to the decisive article of justification and the doctrines connected with it. To this much-disputed question the main interest was attached.

For in fact there were not a few in the council whose views on this point coincided with those of the protestants. The archbishop of Siena, the bishop of Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and with them five divines, attributed justification solely and wholly to the merits of Christ, and to faith. Charity and hope they declared to be the attendants or handmaidens,—works, the proofs of faith, but nothing more; they held that the sole ground of justification was faith.

How could it be imagined that, at a moment in which pope and emperor attacked the protestants with force of arms, the fundamental doctrine whence their whole existence and all their characteristics as a sect were derived, should triumph, in a council held under the auspices of the emperor and the pope? In vain did Pole warn the assembly not to reject an opinion solely because it was held by Luther. Far too much personal bitterness was connected with it. The bishop of Cava and a Greek monk

* Conc. Tridentini, sessio IV: “in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur.” It should be printed, with amendments, posthac, not exactly, as Pallavicini says: “quanto si potesse piu tosto:” vi 15.2.

broke out into personal violence. The council could not even proceed to serious debate on the announcement of an opinion so unquestionably protestant. The discussions related only—and this was important enough—to the intermediate opinions, as expounded by Gaspar Contarini and his friends.

Seripando, the general of the Augustine order, brought them forward, but not without the express reservation that it was not the doctrines of Luther that he defended, but, on the contrary, those of Luther's most celebrated antagonists, Pflug and Gropper. He admitted a twofold righteousness*,—the one dwelling in us, inherent, through which from children of sin we become children of God; itself too a grace and unmerited; active in works, visible in virtues, but not of itself able to conduct us into the glory of God; the other, the righteousness and the merit of Christ attributed or imputed to us; able to atone for all defects, perfect, sufficient to salvation. So had Contarini taught. "If the question is," says he, "on which of these kinds of righteousness we should rely,—that inherent in us, or that imputed in Christ,—a pious man will reply, that we can trust to the latter alone. Our righteousness is only inchoate, incomplete, full of defects: the righteousness of Christ, on the other hand, true, perfect, thoroughly and alone pleasing in the eyes of God; for its

* *Parere Dato*: a 13 di Luglio, 1544. Extracted from *Palavicini*, viii. xi. 4.

sake alone can we trust to be justified before God.”*

Even with this modification, however, this opinion experienced vehement opposition: indeed it left, as we see, the substance of the protestant doctrine untouched, and might be approved by its adherents.

Caraffa, who had already opposed it when it was discussed in Ratisbon, had now a seat among the cardinals to whom the presidency over the council of Trent was confided. He expounded to the assembly his own views of justification, and warmly combated all opinions of the kind above mentioned.†

Already, in this early stage of their existence as a body, the Jesuits appeared as his allies. Salmeron and Lainez had obtained the valuable privilege of successively offering their opinions. They were learned, energetic, in the prime of life, and

* Contarini, *Tractatus de Justificatione*. The Venetian edition of 1589 fell into my hands at first, and is not the one the reader should refer to: this passage will be sought in vain. In the year 1571 the Sorbonne had approved of the treatise as it stood; in the Paris edition of the same year, it is entire and without mutilation; in 1589 on the contrary, the General Inquisitor of Venice, Fra Marco Medici, would not allow this to happen again; he did not content himself with omitting the offending passages; they were so altered as to take the colour of the received dogmas. It is truly astonishing to peruse the collation in Quirini, *Epp. Poli*, iii. cxiii. It is necessary to recall to mind these instances of unjustifiable violence, in order to explain so bitter a hatred as that cherished by Paolo Sarpi.

† Bromato: *Vita di Paolo IV.*, tom. ii. p. 131.

full of zeal. Admonished by Ignatius never to commit themselves to an opinion which made the least approach to an innovation*, they opposed Seripando's doctrine with all their might. Lainez presented himself in the arena with a complete treatise rather than a reply. He had the greater part of the divines on his side.

The disputants admitted the distinction between the two kinds of righteousness; but they maintained that the imputed righteousness was merged in the inherent, or that the merits of Christ were immediately ascribed and communicated to men by faith: that we ought unquestionably to rely on the righteousness of Christ, not because it completed our own, but because it produced it. Upon this point every thing turned. According to the doctrine of Contarini and Seripando, no merit could subsist in works.

It was the old doctrine of the schoolmen, that the soul, clothed with grace, merited eternal life.† The archbishop of Bitonto, one of the most learned and eloquent of these fathers, distinguished a "preliminary justification, dependent on the merits of Christ, by which the sinner is delivered from a state of reprobation; and a subsequent justification, the reward of our own righteousness, dependent on the grace imparted to and inherent in us." "In this sense," said the bishop of Tano, "faith is only the gate leading to justification: but we must not stand still there, we must traverse the whole way."

* Orlandinus, vi. p. 127.

† Chemnitius: *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, i. 355.

Closely as these opinions seem to approximate, they are in fact diametrically opposed.

The Lutheran scheme requires inward regeneration, points out the way to salvation, and maintains that good works must follow ; but it holds that the divine mercy ascribes them to the merits of Christ alone.

The council of Trent, on the contrary, also admits the merits of Christ, but ascribes justification to them, only so far as they produce regeneration and therewith good works, upon which, at last, all depends. "The sinner," according to its expression*, "is justified, inasmuch as the love of God is implanted in his heart, and dwells there, through the merit of the most Sacred Passion, and by the power of the Holy Ghost: thus become the friend of God, a man advances from virtue to virtue, and is renewed day by day. Whilst he observes the commands of God and of the church, by the help of faith and through good works, he grows in the righteousness attained through the mercy of Christ, and is justified more and more."

The protestant doctrine was thus entirely excluded from catholicism; all mediation was definitively rejected. This took place just as the emperor had obtained the victory in Germany, as the Lutherans were submitting on every side, and as he prepared to subdue those who still resisted. The champions of the intermediate opinions, such as cardinal Pole and the archbishop of Siena, had already, as might be expected, quitted the council under different pre-

* Sessio VI., c. vii. x.

texts.* Instead of moderating and guiding the faith of others, they had to fear that their own would be the object of attack and reprobation.

But the most important difficulty was thus overcome. As justification goes on within the heart of man in a perpetual development, it cannot dispense with the sacraments, by which it either begins, or when begun, is continued, or when lost, is regained.† There was then no difficulty in retaining them all seven, as they had heretofore been received, or in referring them all to the author of our faith; since the institutes of the church of Christ are communicated to us not by scripture alone, but by tradition.‡ Now these sacraments embrace, as is well known, the whole of life, and every step of its progress; they lie at the foundation of the hierarchy, which thus presides over and regulates every moment of our days. Inasmuch as they not only indicate but impart grace, they fulfil the mystical relation of man to God.

Tradition was received, because the Holy Ghost dwells perpetually in the church; the vulgate, because the church of Rome has been kept free from

* It was at least a singular thing, that they should both have been prevented from going to Trent by the accident of an extraordinary illness. Polo ai C^{li}. Monte e Cervini, 15th September, 1546. Epp. Tom. iv. 189. These opinions were very injurious to Pole. Mendoza al Emperador Carlos, 13th July, 1547. "Lo Cardinal de Inglaterra lo haze danno le que se a dicho de la justificacion."

† Sessio VII., Procemium.

‡ Sarpi gives the discussions on this point: *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, p. 241. (Edition of 1629.) Pallavicini's account is very insufficient.

all error by the special grace of God : it coincides then with this indwelling of the divine element in man, that the justifying principle should also have place in him ; that the grace involved in the visible sacrament should be imparted to him step by step, and should embrace his life and his death.

The visible church is likewise the true church, which some have called the invisible. No religious existence can be recognized out of her pale.

§ 6. THE INQUISITION.

MEANTIME measures had already been taken for the promulgation of the doctrines thus established by the council, and for the suppression of those of an opposite tendency.

We must here revert once more to the times of the conference of Ratisbon. Seeing that no conclusion was come to with the German protestants, that in Italy disputes were rife concerning the sacrament, and doubts as to purgatory and other points important to the Roman ritual, the pope one day asked cardinal Caraffa what remedy he could suggest for the evil. The cardinal replied, that a searching inquisition was the only one. Juan Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal of Burgos, was of the same opinion.

The ancient Dominican inquisition had long fallen to decay. It was left to the monastic orders to choose the inquisitors, and it not unfrequently happened that members of them shared the very opinions which it was the object of the institution

to suppress. In Spain, the primitive form had been so far departed from, that a supreme tribunal for that country had been established. Caraffa and Burgos, both old Dominicans, both men actuated by a stern and gloomy justice, zealots for pure catholicism, austere in their lives, inflexible in their opinions, advised the pope to erect at Rome an universal supreme tribunal of the inquisition, (after the model of that of Spain,) on which all others should depend. "As it was in Rome," says Caraffa, "that St. Peter overcame the first heresiarchs, so must the followers of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world in Rome."* The Jesuits account it a glory of their order, that their founder Loyola supported this proposition by an express memorial. On the 21st of July, 1542, the bull was published.

It appointed six cardinals, among whom Caraffa and Toledo were the first, as commissaries of the holy see, general and universal inquisitors in affairs of faith on either side the Alps. It conferred on them the right of delegating similar powers to ecclesiastics wherever they thought fit; also the sole right of deciding on appeals against their acts, and of proceeding without the intervention of the regular ecclesiastical courts. Every individual without exception, without regard to any rank or dignity whatsoever, was declared subject to their jurisdiction; they had power to imprison the suspected, and to punish the guilty with death and confiscation of goods. One only limitation was imposed

* Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV., lib. vii. § 3.

on them. They had full power to punish, but the pope reserved to himself the right of pardoning heretics whom they convicted. They were thus to contrive and to execute whatever could tend to suppress the errors that had broken out in the christian community, and to pluck them up by the very roots.*

Caraffa lost not a moment in putting this bull into execution. He was not rich, but he would have thought it a loss to wait for money from the apostolic treasury. He immediately hired a house, and at his own expense fitted up rooms for the officers and prisons for the accused; the latter he furnished with strong bolts and locks, with dungeons, chains, and bonds, and all the terrible apparatus of his office. He then nominated commissaries-general for the several countries. The first, as far as I can discover, for Rome, was his own chaplain, Teofilo di Tropea, of whose severity cardinals—for instance Pole—had soon to complain.

“The following rules,” says the manuscript life of Caraffa, “were drawn up by the cardinal as the most just and fit.”†

“1°.—In affairs of faith there must not be a moment’s delay, but, on the slightest suspicion,

* “*Licet ab initio.*” *Deputatio nonnullorum S.R.E. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis*, 21 Julii, 1542. *Cocquelines*, iv. 1, 211.

† Caracciolo: *Vita di Paolo IV.*, MS. c. 8. “Haveva egli queste infrascritte regole tenute da lui come assiomi verissimi: la prima, che in materia di fede non bisogna aspettar punto, ma subito che vi è qualche sospetto o indicio di peste heretica, far ogni sforzo e violenza per estirparla,” etc. (App. No. 29.)

proceedings must be taken with the utmost diligence.

“ 2°.—No regard must be paid to any potentate or prelate, whatever be his power or dignity.

“ 3°.—On the contrary, the greatest severity must be shown towards those who seek to shelter themselves under the protection of a ruler: only when confession is made, are leniency and fatherly compassion to be shown.

“ 4°.—To heretics, and especially Calvinists, no toleration must be granted.”

It is all, as we see, severity—inflexible, remorseless severity—till confession was obtained. Fearful at all times;—but more especially fearful at a moment when opinions were not yet fully developed, when many were seeking to unite the profounder doctrines of Christianity with the establishments of the existing church. The weaker gave way and submitted; the stronger-minded, on the contrary, now first openly and resolutely embraced the opposite opinions, and sought to withdraw themselves from violence.

One of the first of these was Bernardino Ochino. For some time people had affected to remark that he fulfilled his conventual duties with less diligence than formerly; in the year 1542 his preaching also perplexed people. He maintained with the greatest distinctness the doctrine that faith alone justifies. “He who hath made thee without thy aid,” exclaimed he in the words of St. Augustine, “will he not save thee without thy aid?” His exposition of the doctrine of purgatory did not

appear perfectly orthodox. The nuncio at Venice had already interdicted his use of the pulpit for some days; hereupon he was cited to appear at Rome, and had already reached Bologna and Florence, when (probably from fear of the inquisition which was just established) he determined to flee.

The historian of his order* relates, how, having reached Mount St. Bernard, he halted, and retraced in his mind all the honours that had been paid him in his beautiful country; the countless numbers who received him with eagerness, heard him with breathless attention, and accompanied him home with admiring satisfaction. We may imagine the bitterness of such recollections, for an orator loses more than any other man in losing his country; yet he quitted it, though at so advanced an age. He gave the seal of his order, which he had worn till now, to his companion, and went to Geneva. Nevertheless his convictions were, as yet, not firm; he fell into extraordinary perplexity of mind.

About the same time Peter Martyr Vermigli left Italy. "I tore myself," says he, "from all these falsehoods and dissimulations, and saved my life from imminent danger." Many of the scholars whom he had taught in Lucca afterwards followed him.†

Celio Secundo Curione suffered the danger to

* Boverio, *Annali*, i. 438.

† A letter of Peter Martyr to the community he had left, in which he expresses his repentance for having at times veiled the truth; Schlosser, *Leben Beza's und Peter Martyr's*, p. 400. Gerdesius and M'Crie have collected a good many detached notices in the works already cited.

approach him more nearly. He waited till the bargello came to seek for him, when, being large and athletic, he cut his way through the sbirri with a knife he had about him, threw himself on his horse, rode off, and took the road to Switzerland.

There had already been commotions in Modena; they were now revived. People denounced each other. Filippo Valentini escaped to Trent, and Castelvetri found it expedient, for a time at least, to seek safety in Germany.

Persecution and terror broke out on every side in Italy. The mutual hatred of factions came in aid of the inquisitors. Often did a man who had long vainly sought an opportunity of avenging himself on his adversary, resort to the accusation of heresy as a means of gratifying his revenge. The bigoted monks had now arms in their hands, which they could turn against that band of intelligent and accomplished men who had been led by their literary pursuits to a religious turn of mind, and could condemn them to everlasting silence. These two parties regarded each other with the bitterest hate. "It is hardly possible," exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "for a man to be a christian and to die in his bed."*

The academy of Modena was not the only one that broke up. Those of Naples, established by

* Aonii Palearii Opera, ed. Wetsten. 1696, p. 91. Il Cl. di Ravenna al Cl. Contarini, Epp. Poli, iii. 208, already urges this: "Sendo quella città (Ravenna) partialissima, nè vi rimanendo huomo alcuno non contaminato di questa macchia delle fattioni, si van voluntieri dove l'occasione s'offerisce caricando l'un l'altro da inimici."

the Seggi, originally only intended for studies, from which, according to the spirit of the age, they came to embrace theological disputations, were closed by the viceroy.* Every branch of literature was subjected to the most rigorous supervision. In the year 1543, Caraffa ordered that in future no book, of what contents soever, whether old or new, should be printed without the permission of the inquisition; that booksellers should send to it catalogues of all their articles, and should sell nothing more without its permission. The officers of the customs received an order to deliver no packages of manuscript or printed books to their address, without first laying them before the inquisition.† Thus gradually arose the index of prohibited books. The first examples of the kind were given in Louvain and Paris. In Italy, Giovanni della Casa, who lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with the house of Caraffa, printed the first catalogue, containing about seventy books, at Venice. More elaborate and complete ones appeared in 1552 at Florence, and in 1554 at Milan; the first, in the form afterwards employed, was published at Rome in 1559. It contained writings of cardinals, and the poems of Casa himself. Not only printers and booksellers were subjected to these laws; even on private persons it was imposed as a duty of conscience to give information of the existence of forbidden books, and to contribute to their annihilation. These rules were executed with inconceiv-

* Giannone: *Storia di Napoli*, xxxii. c. v.

† Bromato, vii. 9.

able severity. Though thousands of the book, "On the Benefits of the Death of Christ," were dispersed, it has utterly disappeared, and is nowhere to be found. Whole piles of seized copies were burnt in Rome.

In all these regulations and measures the clergy availed themselves of the help of the secular arm.* The popes found the advantage of possessing a territory of their own of considerable extent: here they could set an example and exhibit a pattern. In Milan and Naples the governments could offer no opposition, particularly as they had intended to introduce the Spanish inquisition; though in Naples the confiscation of goods was prohibited. In Tuscany the inquisition was accessible to the influence of the civil power, through the legate, whom Duke Cosmo had found means to gain over; but the fraternities which it founded gave great offence: in Siena and Pisa it acted very oppressively against the universities. In the Venetian states the inquisitor was, it is true, not wholly emancipated from civil control; from April, 1547, three Venetian *nobili* had a seat in his tribunal in the capital; in the provinces, the *rettore* of each town, who occa-

* Other members of the laity seconded their endeavours. "Fu rimediato," says the Compendium of the Inquisitors, "opportunamente nel S. Officio in Roma con porre in ogni città valenti e zelanti inquisitori, servendosi anche talhora de secolari zelanti, e dotti per ajuto della fede, come, verbi gratia, del Godescalco in Como, del conte Albano in Bergamo, del Mutio in Milano. Questa risoluzione di servirsi de' secolari fu presa, perche non soli moltissimi vescovi, vicarii, frati e preti, ma anco molti dell' istessa Inquisitione erano heretici."

sionally consulted doctors in difficult cases (especially when the accusation affected eminent persons) claimed a share in the investigation with the council of ten : notwithstanding this, however, the ordinances of Rome were, on all material points, executed.

And thus all the life and movement of varying opinions were forcibly stifled and annihilated in Italy. Almost the whole Franciscan order was compelled to retract. The greater part of the followers of Valdez submitted to make recantation. In Venice a certain liberty was allowed to the foreigners, mostly Germans, who resided there for purposes of trade or of study ; but the natives were forced to abjure their opinions, and their meetings were interrupted. Many fled ; every town of Germany and of Switzerland afforded refuge to the fugitives ; while those who would not submit, and could not escape, fell victims to this terrific persecution. In Venice they were sent from the lagoons out to sea in two boats, between which a plank was laid and the condemned placed upon it ; at the same moment the rowers pulled different ways—the plank fell into the water—once more did the miserable sufferers call upon the name of Christ, and then sank to rise no more. In Rome autos da fè were solemnly held in front of the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many fled from place to place with their wives and children ; we trace their footsteps for awhile, then they disappear ; probably they had fallen into the toils of the merciless hunters. Others sought safety in silence and obscurity.

The duchess of Ferrara, who, if the salic law had not existed, would have been heiress of France, found no protection from her birth and exalted rank. Her husband was her accuser. "She sees no one," says Marot, "to whom she can complain; the mountains are between her and her friends; she mingles her wine with tears."

§ 7. PROGRESS OF THE INSTITUTION OF JESUITISM.

IN this state of things, when opponents were removed by force, when the dogmas of the church were established anew in the spirit of the age, and the ecclesiastical power enforced their observance with resistless weapons, arose, in strictest alliance with that power, the order of the Jesuits.

Not in Rome alone, but throughout Italy, it had the most extraordinary success. Originally destined for the common people, it now found entrance among the higher classes. In Parma it was protected by the Farnesi.* Princesses submitted themselves to the spiritual exercises. In Venice Lainez gave an exposition of the Gospel of St. John expressly for the nobles, and in 1542, with the aid

* Orlandinus expresses himself strangely. "Et civitas," he says, ii. p. 78, "et privati, quibus fuisse dicitur aliqua cum Romano Pontifice necessitudo, supplices ad eum literas pro Fabro retinendo dederunt." Just as if it were not known, that Paul III. had a son. The inquisition was indeed afterwards introduced into Parma, in consequence of the hostility shown towards the priests inclined to the doctrines of the Jesuits.

of one of the Lippomano family, he succeeded in laying the foundations of a Jesuits' college. In Montepulciano, Francesco Strada had such an influence over some of the most eminent men of the town, that he induced them to go about the streets with him begging. Strada knocked at the door, the others received the alms. In Faenza, though it had been the scene of Ochino's labours, the Jesuits succeeded in acquiring great influence, in allaying feuds of centuries standing, and in founding societies for the support of the poor. I quote these few examples only by way of illustration : on every side they arose, gained followers, organized schools, and established themselves on a firm footing.

But as Ignatius was a Spaniard, imbued with, and actuated by, the ideas of his nation, as his most intelligent disciples had readily followed in the track he marked out, his society, which was inspired by the same spirit, made still greater progress in the peninsula than in Italy. In Barcelona he made a very distinguished convert in the viceroy Francesco Borgia, duke of Gandia ; in Valencia one church could not contain the hearers of Araoz, and a pulpit was erected for him in the open air. In Alcala followers of consideration soon congregated around Francesco Villanova, spite of the disadvantages of sickness, mean extraction, and extreme ignorance under which he laboured. From this place and from Salamanca, where, in 1548, they began their labours in a small miserable house, the Jesuits principally issued forth and overspread the

whole of Spain.* Nor was their reception less cordial in Portugal. The king suffered only one of the two first who were sent to him at his request, to proceed to the East Indies. This was that Xavier who won there the fame of an apostle and a saint: the other, Simon Roderic, the king kept near his person. At both courts the Jesuits obtained extraordinary popularity. They effected a thorough reform in that of Portugal. In the court of Madrid they almost immediately became the confessors of grandees of the highest rank, of the president of the council of Castile, and of the cardinal of Toledo.

In the year 1540 Ignatius had sent a few young men to study at Paris; from thence his society diffused itself over the Netherlands. Faber had the most decided success in Louvain; eighteen young men who had already taken the degree of master or bachelor, offered to leave home, university, and country, to accompany him to Portugal. The followers of Loyola were already seen in Germany, and, among the first, Peter Canisius, on his twenty-third birthday, entered that order to which he afterwards rendered such important services.

This rapid success had of necessity the strongest influence on the development of the constitution. The form it assumed was as follows:—

In the class of the first associates, the professed members, Ignatius admitted but few. He found that the number of men thoroughly educated, and at the same time good and pious, was very small.

* Ribadeneira: *Vita Ignatii*, c. xv. n. 244 c. xxxviii. n. 285.

In the first project which he submitted to the pope he expresses the intention of founding colleges at several universities for the education of young men; an unexpected number of whom attached themselves to him, as we have already observed. They formed the professed members, as contradistinguished from the class of scholars.* But a difficulty soon arose. As the professed had bound themselves by a fourth and special oath to a life of continual travelling in the service of the pope, it was a contradiction to assign to them as many colleges as were now required,—establishments which could only thrive by their constant presence. Ignatius soon found it necessary to establish a third class between these two; spiritual coadjutors, who were at the same time priests, versed in science and learning, and expressly devoted to the education of youth. This was one of the most important institutions of the Jesuits, and, as far as I have been able to discover, peculiar to them. It contributed more than any other to the singular success of the society. They could establish themselves in any place, become residents, gain influence, and put themselves at the head of instruction. Like the scholars, they took only three vows; and, be it observed, these were simple, not solemn:—that is to say, though any attempt to quit the society would have been followed by ex-

* Pauli III. *Facultas coadjutores admittendi*, d. 5 Junii, 1546: “ita ut ad vota servanda pro eo tempore quo tu, fili præposite, et qui pro tempore fuerint ejusdem societatis præpositi, eis in ministerio spirituali vel temporalì utendum judicaveritis, et non ultra astringantur.” *Corpus Institutorum*, i. p. 15.

communication, the society had the right, in certain cases strictly defined, to absolve them of their vows.

One thing alone was now requisite. It would have disturbed the studies and occupations to which these classes were destined, had they been compelled to devote themselves to providing for their own subsistence. The professed, in their houses, lived on alms; the coadjutors and scholars were spared this, as the colleges were permitted to have revenues in common. For the administration of these revenues, so far as it did not devolve on the professed (who were excluded from any participation in the enjoyment of them), and for the care of all external affairs, Ignatius likewise appointed two secular coadjutors, who indeed were equally bound by the three simple vows, but who were forced to content themselves with the conviction that they were serving God by aiding in the support of a society which watched over the salvation of souls; they were to aspire to no higher reward. These arrangements were not only well calculated in themselves, but at the same time founded a hierarchy which, by its different gradations, had a peculiar power of subjugating the minds of men.*

If we attentively consider the laws which were gradually given to this society, we shall find that one of the main objects which lay at the bottom of them all was, the complete separation of its

* The basis of the society consisted of Novices, Guests, and Indifferents; from these rose the different classes.

members from all the ordinary relations of life. Love of kindred was denounced as carnal affection.* He who renounced his possessions in order to enter the society, was not to give them to his relations, but to distribute them amongst the poor.† He who had once entered could neither receive nor write a letter that was not read by a superior. The society would have the whole man; it would bind every inclination in its fetters.

It would share even his secrets. A general confession was the preliminary to his entrance. He must enumerate all his faults, nay, even all his virtues. A father confessor was appointed him by his superiors; the superior reserved to himself the power of granting absolution in cases which it was expedient for him to know.‡ This was insisted on as a means of enabling him to obtain a perfect knowledge of those under him, and to use them at his discretion.

For, in this society, obedience usurped the place of every relation or affection, of every impulse or motive, that could stimulate man to activity; obedience for its own sake, without any regard

* *Summarium constitutionum*, § 8. in the *Corpus Institutum Societatis Jesu*. Antverpiæ, 1709, tom. i. In Orlandinus, iii. 66, Faber is praised, because once, having arrived after many years of absence in his native town in Savoy, he resisted his inclination to make any stay, and continued his journey.

† *Examen generale*, c. IV. § 2.

‡ Rules, contained separately in the *Summarium constitutionum*, § 32, § 41, the *Examen generale*, § 35, § 36, and *Constitutionum Pauli III.*, c. 1, n. 11: "*Illi casus reservabuntur*," it is said in the last passage, "*quos ab eo (superiore) cognosci necessarium videbitur, aut valde conveniens.*"

whatever to its object or consequences.* No man was permitted to aspire after any rank or station above that which he held; if it happened that the secular coadjutor could not read or write, he was not to learn without permission. With the most absolute abnegation of all right of private judgment, he who entered this society must suffer himself to be ruled by his superiors, in blind submissiveness, like some inanimate thing; like the staff which is turned to any purpose at the will of him who holds it. He was to behold in his superiors the representatives of divine Providence.†

What a power was that now vested in the general!—the power of wielding this implicit obedience wholly, irresponsibly, and for life. According to the project of 1543, all the members of the

* The Letter of Ignatius, “*Fratribus Societatis Jesu qui sunt in Lusitania.*” j. Kal. Ap. 1553. § 3.

† *Constitutiones*, vi. 1. “*Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regi a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac cadaver essent.*”—Here is also given the other Constitution, vi. 5, according to which it would appear that even a sin might be ordained. “*Visum est nobis in Domino, . . . nullas constitutiones, declarationes vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientiæ jubeat.*” We scarcely know how to trust our eyes, in reading this. And it is in fact possible to extract another meaning besides that suggested on the first perusal. “*Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale,*” would rather mean the obligation connected with a constitution; so that whosoever should violate it, would, in one way or the other, be guilty of a sin. Still it must be acknowledged that the Constitution ought to be more explicit. We could blame no one, who bona fide should suppose “*ea*” to refer to “*peccatum mortale vel veniale,*” and not to “*constitutiones.*”

order who happened to be at the same place with the general, were to be called into council even on trifling affairs. The project of 1550, which was confirmed by Julius III., frees him from this obligation, whenever he himself deems it inexpedient to comply with it.* It was necessary to hold a council only for some change in the constitution, or for the dissolution of existing houses and colleges. In all other matters, all power that could conduce to the good government of the society was committed to him. He had assistants in the several provinces, who however meddled in no affairs but those which he entrusted to them. He appointed the presidents of provinces, colleges, and houses at his pleasure; he admitted and dismissed, dispensed and punished; he had a sort of papal power on a small scale.† The only danger was, that the general, in the possession of so vast a power, should himself depart from the principles of the order. To guard against this he was subjected to certain restraints. It was not perhaps of so much importance as it appeared to Ignatius, that the society or its deputies had the power of deciding on certain external things, such as meals, clothing, hours of sleep, and all the details of daily life‡; but it was unquestionably something, that the possessor of the supreme power was deprived of a freedom enjoyed

* “*Adjutus, quatenus ipse opportunum judicabit, fratrum suorum consilio, per se ipsum ordinandi et jubendi quæ ad Dei gloriam pertinere videbuntur, jus totum habeat:*” says Julii III. *Confirmatio Instituti.*

† *Constitutiones*, ix. 3.

‡ *Schedula Ignatii, AA. SS. Commentatio prævia*, n. 872.

by the meanest individual. The assistants, who were not nominated by him, also exercised a constant supervision over his conduct. There was an officer specially appointed to warn or reprove him, called the admonitor; and in case of any gross fault, the assistants were empowered to summon the general congregation, which was then authorized to pronounce sentence of deposition on their chief.

This leads us to another consideration.

If, without suffering ourselves to be dazzled by the hyperbolical expressions in which the Jesuits have represented this power, we examine what was practicable, consistently with the extension which the society rapidly attained to, the following will appear to be the result.

The supreme direction of the whole was vested in the general, and especially the superintendence of the superiors, whose consciences were to lie open to him, whose duties he was to assign. These, on the other hand, exercised a similar power in their own department, and frequently with more severity than the general.* The superiors and the general held each other in some degree in check. The general was likewise to be acquainted with the person and character of all subordinates, of all members of the society whatsoever; although, as is evident, he could interfere only in urgent cases, yet he retained the supreme supervision. On the other hand, a certain number of the professed exercised a supervision over him.

* Mariana, *Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compania de Jesus*, c. xi.

There have been other religious orders, which, forming a world within the world, severed their members from all other ties, made them wholly their own, and generated in them a new principle of life and action. Such were among the ends which the institution of the Jesuits also was calculated to accomplish. But it is remarkable, that, on the one side, it not only encouraged but required the development of individual minds, while on the other, it took them completely captive, and made them its own. Hence all relations between the members merged in those of subordination and mutual supervision. They thus formed a strict, exclusive, and complete union, endowed with nerve and energy. For this reason they contributed so much to strengthen the monarchical power; they submitted themselves to it absolutely, unless its possessors fell off from the very principle on which it rests.

It is quite in accordance with the spirit of this society that no member of it could be invested with any ecclesiastical dignity. He would have had duties to fulfil, he would have been involved in circumstances, over which he could have had no supervision or control. In the early days of the society, at least, this rule was most rigidly adhered to. Jay would not, and was not permitted to accept the bishopric of Trieste; and when Ferdinand I., who offered it to him, renounced his wish in consequence of a letter from Ignatius, the latter caused solemn mass to be performed, and *Te Deum* to be sung.*

* Extract from the *Liber memorialis* of Ludovicus Gonsalvus;

Another important point is, that as the society generally raised itself above the more ascetical and onerous practices of religion, so individuals were warned not to carry their devout exercises to excess. They were exhorted not to weaken their bodies with fasts, vigils, and scourgings; not to abstract too much time from the service of their neighbour for such purposes; to observe moderation even in labour; to use not only the spur, but the curb; not to encumber themselves with so many weapons that they could not wield them; not to oppress themselves with work till the energy of their minds should be crushed by the burden.*

It is clear that it was the design and the principle of the society to possess its members as its exclusive property, yet at the same time to give them the utmost vigour of character consistent with strict adherence to that principle.

In fact, that vigour was indispensable to the difficult functions which the Jesuits took upon themselves. These were, as we saw, preaching, instruction, and confession. To the two latter they devoted themselves with singular zeal.

Instruction had till then been in the hands of those men of letters, who, after having long addicted themselves to profane studies, fell into speculations on religious subjects, not wholly

“quod, desistente rege, S. Ignatius indixerit missas, et, ‘Te Deum laudamus,’ in gratiarum actionem.” *Commentarius prævius*, in AA. SS. Julii VII., n. 412.

* *Constitutiones*, v. 3, l. 1. *Epistola Ignatii ad Fratres qui sunt in Hispania*. *Corpus Institutorum*, ii. 540.

agreeable to the court of Rome, and ended by adopting opinions utterly reprobated by it. The Jesuits made it their business to expel them from their post, and to occupy it in their stead. They began on a more systematic plan than had hitherto been pursued. They divided the schools into classes, which they taught, from the first rudiments up to the highest branches of learning, in the same spirit. They paid great attention also to the moral education, and formed men of good conduct and manners; they were patronized by the civil authorities; and, lastly, they taught gratis. When a city or a prince had founded a Jesuits' college, private persons needed no longer to be at any expense for the education of their sons. They were expressly forbidden to ask or to receive pay or alms; their instruction was as gratuitous as their sermons and their masses; there was not even a box for the receipt of alms in their churches. Men being what they are, this could not fail to make the Jesuits extremely popular, especially as they taught with no less success than zeal. "This was not only a help to the poor," says Orlandini *, "but a solace to the rich." He remarks how enormous was their success. "We see," says he, "many robed in the purple of a cardinal, who were but lately seated on the benches of our schools; others

* Orlandinus, lib. vi. 70. A comparison might be made with the conventual schools of the protestants, in which also the devotional tendency completely predominated. Vide Sturm, in Ruhkopf, Geschichte des Schulwesens, p. 378. The points of difference would be those to consider.

have attained to posts in the government of cities and of states; we have trained up bishops and their councils; even other religious communities have been filled from our schools." They had the acuteness to detect, and the skill to appropriate, all men of remarkable talents. They constituted themselves a class of teachers, who, dispersed over all catholic lands, first gave to education that religious colour which it has ever since retained, preserved a strict unity in discipline, method, and doctrine, and thus obtained an incalculable influence over the minds of men.

But how greatly was this influence strengthened by the address with which they got possession of the confessional and of the direction of consciences! No age of the world was more susceptible of such influence,—none indeed more in need of it. The Jesuits were exhorted by their rules to give absolution in such sort and manner as to follow one uniform method; to practise themselves in cases of conscience, to accustom themselves to a brief way of questioning, and to hold the examples of the saints, their works, and other aids, ready against every kind of sin*:—rules which, as is evident, are admirably calculated for the necessities of man.

The extraordinary success, however, which attended their labours, and which involved a real diffusion of their own manner of thinking, rested on another essential point.

The little book of spiritual exercises which Ig-

* Regula Sacerdotum, § 8. 10, 11.

natius worked out in the most singular manner *, though he did not draw the first outline of it,—the book with which he attracted his first, and afterwards his later disciples,—with which he attached his followers generally,—is a most remarkable production. Its operation was progressive and powerful ; the more so, perhaps, because it was recommended to be used only occasionally, in moments of inward perplexity and agitation — under the pressure of the cravings and wants of the troubled heart.

It is not a book of doctrine ; it is a guide to self-observation. “ The longing of the soul,” says Ignatius, “ cannot be appeased by much knowledge, but by the sense and relish of inward things.” † To direct this, is the task he proposes to himself. The guardian of souls indicates the subjects of reflection ; the disciple has only to follow them out. He is to direct his mind to them before going to sleep, and at first waking ; he must drive away all other thoughts with effort ; windows and doors must be closed ; kneeling, or extended on the earth, he must carry through the work of self-examination.

He begins by being conscious of his sins. He reflects how, for one single crime, the angels were cast down into hell ; but for him, although guilty

* From all that has been written on both sides of the question, it is very clear that Ignatius had in view a similar work by Garcia de Cisneros. All that is most peculiar and characteristic appears, however, to have originated with himself. *Comm. præv.*, n. 64.

† “ Non enim abundantia scientiæ, sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet.”

of so much greater transgressions, the saints offer up their intercessions; the firmament and the stars, the animals and plants of the earth, serve him. In order that he may be delivered from sin, and may not fall into eternal damnation, he calls on Christ crucified, he hears his answers:—a dialogue as of a friend with his friend, as of a servant with his lord.

His principal endeavour is next to exhort to the study of sacred history. “I see,” he says, “how the three persons of the Godhead look down upon the whole earth, filled with men who are doomed to perdition; they determine that the second person shall take upon himself the human nature for their redemption. I look over the whole circuit of the world, and I discern in one corner of it the hut of the Virgin Mary, from which salvation proceeds.”

He advances from step to step of the sacred history; he brings before himself the events in all their peculiarities, according to the categories of sense; the greatest latitude is given to the religious fancy, emancipated from the restraints of language. The reader imagines he touches the garments, he kisses the footsteps, of the divine personages. In this exaltation of the fancy, in the feeling, how great is the beatitude of a soul that is filled with divine graces and virtues, he returns to the consideration of his own state. If he has his condition still to choose, he chooses it now, according to the wants of his heart; having the one aim before his eyes—to be consecrated to God’s glory; believing that he stands in the presence of God and all his saints.

If he is no longer free to choose, he reflects on his manner of living, his conversation, the ordering of his household, his needful expenditure, what he has to give to the poor; all in the same frame of mind as he would wish to enjoy when reflecting upon them in the hour of death; having nothing in view save what tends to God's honour and his own salvation.

Thirty days are devoted to these exercises; during which reflections on the sacred history, on his own most intimate state, prayers, and resolutions, alternate one with another. The soul is kept in a state of constant excitement and activity, occupied with itself. Lastly, in representing to himself the providence of God, "who in all his creatures works for the good of man," the contemplator believes he once more stands before the face of the Lord and of his saints. He implores the Divine Being to enable him to give himself up to his love and service; he offers up his liberty, memory, judgment, will. Thus is the bond of love concluded with him. "Love consists in the community of all capacities and of all possessions." As a recompence for his self-devotion, God imparts to his soul His grace.

It is sufficient for the present purpose to have given a slight idea of this extraordinary book. In its general course, as well as in particular passages and their connexion, there is something persuasive, which, while it sets the thoughts in motion, encloses and binds them within a narrow circle. It is adapted with consummate skill to its end,—meditation under the sway of fancy; and its success is the more unfailing because it rests on the author's

own experiences. Ignatius gradually embodied in this work the most animated crises of his awakening and of his spiritual progress, from their first commencement till the year 1548, when he received the sanction of the pope. It has been said that Jesuitism turned to account the experiences of the protestants, and this may be true in particular instances; as a whole, however, they stand in the sharpest contrast. Ignatius opposed to the discursive, demonstrative, searching methods of the protestants, which were by their very nature polemical, a totally different one; short, intuitive, and leading to ecstatic contemplation; built upon the imagination, exciting to instant resolution.

And thus did that imaginative element from which he drew his earliest inspirations, become an instrument of extraordinary force and importance. Combining the habits of a soldier with the fervour of a religious fancy, he succeeded in enrolling a spiritual standing army, picked man by man, trained individually for his objects, and commanded by himself, in the name and service of the pope. He lived to see it spread over every nation of the earth.

When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, exclusive of the Roman.* A glance will suffice to show where the nerve of it lay. The larger half of these provinces, seven, belonged to the western peninsula and its colonies. In Cas-

* In the year 1556. Sacchinus, *Historia societatis Jesu*, p. ii., sive Lainius, from the beginning.

tile there were ten colleges, in Aragon five, in Andalusia also five. Portugal surpassed even this; there were houses for both professed members and for novices, and the Portuguese colonies were almost entirely under their rule. In Brazil there were twenty-eight members of the order; in the East Indies, from Goa to Japan, a hundred were employed in the functions allotted to them. An attempt was made from thence to establish themselves in Ethiopia, and a provincial was sent thither in the confident hope of a successful result. All these provinces of Spanish and Portuguese language and manners were united under one commissary-general, Francisco Borgia.

Here, as we have said, where the first idea of the society arose, its influence had become most extensive and powerful. But it was not much less so in Italy. There were three provinces of the Italian tongue:—the Roman, which was under the immediate control of the general, with houses for professed and novices; the *collegium Romanum*; and the *collegium Germanicum* (established, on the advice of cardinal Morone, expressly for Germans, but which never had much success); to this province Naples also belonged, and Sicily (where the Jesuits were first introduced by the viceroy, Della Vega), with four colleges completed and two begun.* Messina and Palermo had rivalled each other in zeal to found colleges, and the others were offsets from these. The two other proper Italian

* Ribadeneira: Vita Ignatii, n. 293.

provinces comprehended all the north of Italy, and contained ten colleges.

Their success had not been so brilliant in other countries; they had to encounter protestantism, or a strong inclination towards it. France contained but one college regularly constituted. Germany was divided into two provinces, which were however only in their infancy. The upper was to include Vienna, Prague, Ingolstadt, &c., but its condition was in every way very precarious. The lower was to comprise the Netherlands, but Philip II. had given it no legal existence there.

A success so early and so rapid gave the society promise of the power to which it was destined to attain. Its mighty influence in the truly catholic countries,—the two peninsulas,—was of the utmost importance.

CONCLUSION.

We see that while, on the one hand, the movement with which protestantism agitated the minds of men advanced on every side with rapid strides, on the other, a new tendency had likewise arisen in the bosom of catholicism,—in Rome,—around the presence and person of the pope.

This, no less than the former, sprang from the corruptions and the worldliness which had deformed the church; or rather, from the wants that they had generated in the minds of men.

At the beginning these two tendencies approximated. There was a moment in which Germany

had not thoroughly resolved on the complete downfall of the hierarchy ; a moment in which Italy was inclined to adopt rational modifications of it. This moment passed away.

While the protestants, resting on scripture, recurred with ever-increasing boldness to the primitive forms of the Christian religion, their opponents determined to hold fast to the ecclesiastical institutions which had been consolidated in the course of the century, to renew them merely, and to infuse into them fresh spirit, earnestness, and strictness.

On the one hand, arose Calvinism, far more anti-catholic than Lutheranism ; on the other, everything which could recal an idea of protestantism was rejected with deliberate hostility, and the most direct opposition was declared.

Thus do two neighbouring and kindred springs arise on the mountain top ; but soon their waters form different channels down its rocky sides, the streams diverge, and flow on in opposite directions for ever.

BOOK III.

THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE most striking characteristic of the sixteenth century is its fertility in religious systems. The various and conflicting opinions which then arose and overspread Europe, form, even at the present hour, the moral atmosphere in which we live and move.

If we seek to assign more accurately the point of history at which the separation between catholicism and protestantism, of which we have just spoken, became complete, we shall find that it did not coincide with the first appearance of the reformers; for divergences of opinion did not immediately become inveterate, and during a long time hopes might be entertained of some compromise between the conflicting doctrines. It was not till the year 1552 that it became manifest that all attempts at conciliation had utterly failed, and the three great forms of Christianity in the west were severed for ever. Lutheranism became stricter, more ascetical, more

exclusive. Calvinism seceded from it in the most important articles, though Calvin himself had previously passed for a Lutheran. Directly opposed to both, catholicism assumed its modern form. Thus hostilely arrayed, each of the three theological systems strove to establish itself on the position which it had taken up, thence to supplant its rivals, and to subject the world to its own sway.

It might appear that catholicism, which aimed at nothing but the renovation of an existing institution, would have found it more easy than the antagonist sects to make its way, and to obtain the ascendancy; but its advantages were not great; it was circumscribed, no less than its competitors, by various interests, tastes, and passions; by worldly-mindedness, profane learning, and declining religious convictions; it was little more than a principle of fermentation, of which it might still be questioned, whether it would eventually pervade and overpower the elements in the midst of which it was generated, or be overpowered by them.

The first obstacle it had to encounter arose from the popes themselves,—their personal character, and their policy.

We have remarked how a temper of mind the very reverse of spiritual had taken root in the heads of the church, had provoked opposition, and had given a mighty impetus to protestantism.

The question was, whether the strict ecclesiastical spirit which had sprung up in the bosom of the church herself, would overmaster and transmute this temper, or not; and to what degree? It ap-

pears to me, that the conflict between these two principles,—between the ideas, the actions, and the policy which had hitherto prevailed and had become habitual, and the necessity of effecting a thorough internal reform, constitute the prominent interest in the history of the next popes.

§ 1. PAUL III.

IT is a common error of the present day to ascribe far too much to the designs and the influence of eminent persons, of rulers, and of governments; their memory not unfrequently has to expiate the sins of the mass, while sometimes they have credit for measures which emanated in fact from the spontaneous impulse of the mass.

The catholic movement which we contemplated in the last book began under Paul III., but it would be a mistake to regard him as its author. He distinctly saw its importance to the see of Rome, and he not only allowed it free course, but promoted it in many ways; we may confidently assert, however, that he could have no sincere or cordial sympathy with so religious and ascetical a spirit.

Alexander Farnese, for that was the name of Paul III., was as much a man of the world as any of his predecessors. His education was completed within the fifteenth century, for he was born in the year 1468. He studied under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence; he thus became thoroughly imbued

with the elegant literature and the taste for art which characterised that epoch; nor was he a stranger to its morals. His mother once found it necessary to allow him to remain a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. In a moment when the vigilance of his guards was withdrawn by the procession of Corpus Christi day, he found means to let himself down from the castle by a rope, and to escape. He acknowledged an illegitimate son and daughter. Spite of these excesses—for in those days such things caused little scandal,—he was made cardinal at a very early age. During his cardinalate he laid the foundation of the most beautiful of all the Roman palaces—that of the Farnesi. At Bolsena, where his hereditary estates were situated, he fitted up a villa which Pope Leo found so attractive as to tempt him to pay the cardinal several visits there. Nor were his desires bounded by this brilliant and magnificent life; he cherished other projects and loftier ambitions. From the very beginning of his career he fixed his eye on the supreme dignity. It is characteristic of him that he sought to reach it by maintaining a strict neutrality. The French and imperial factions divided Italy, Rome, and the college of cardinals: Farnese conducted himself with such deliberate caution, with such happy prudence, that no one could have said to which of the two he most inclined. Even so early in his career as at the death of Leo, and again at that of Adrian, he was near being elected. He was exasperated against the memory of Clement VII., whom he regarded as

having robbed him of twelve years of the papacy, which would otherwise have been his. At length, in October 1534, in the fortieth year of his cardinalate, and the sixty-seventh of his life, he attained the end of all his aspirations, and was elected pope.*

He had now to feel the full weight of the great conflicting interests which divided the world; the animosity of the two parties between which he occupied so important a station; the necessity of making head against the protestants, and the secret connection with them into which he was inevitably drawn by their political position; the desire to diminish the preponderance of Spain, and the danger attending every attempt to do so, which naturally arose out of the situation of his Italian principality; the urgent need of a reform, and the annoying restraints which that reform seemed to threaten to impose on the papal power.

The manner in which his character developed itself in the midst of all these irreconcilable demands is well worthy of notice.

Paul III. was of an easy, magnificent, liberal nature. Seldom has a pope been so beloved in Rome as he was. There was a grandeur in the way in which he nominated men of distinguished merit to the dignity of cardinal, without even their knowledge, nobly contrasting with the petty personal considerations which usually determine appointments. Nor did he only nominate them;—he allowed them an unwonted liberty. He endured

* Onuphrius Panvinius: Vita Pauli III.

contradiction in the consistory, and encouraged the cardinals to fearless discussion.*

But while he granted freedom to others, while he conceded to every man all the advantages attached to his situation, he would not suffer one of his own prerogatives to be invaded, or to fall into neglect. The emperor once remonstrated with him on having promoted two of his grandsons to the cardinalate at too early an age; he replied, that he would do as his predecessors had done,—that there were examples of infants in the cradle being made cardinals. He showed a partiality for his own kindred unusual even in a pope †, and a determination to raise them

* In the year 1538, Marco Antonio Contarini wrote a report of the state of the pope's court to the Venetian senate. Unfortunately I have not found this work either in the Venetian archives or elsewhere. There is a short extract from it in a MS. in my possession, on the war then carrying on against the Turks, bearing the title, "*Tre Libri delli Commentari della Guerra, 1537,—8,—9.*" It is from this source I have taken the above notices. "*Disse del stato della corte, che molti anni inanzi li prelati non erano stati in quella riforma di vita ch' eran allora, e che li cardinali havevano libertà maggiore di dire l'opinion loro in consistorio ch'avesser avuto gia mai da gran tempo, e che di ciò il pontefice non solamente non si doleva, ma se n'era studiattissimo, onde per questa ragione si poteva sperare di giorno in giorno maggior riforma. Considerò che tra cardinali vi erano tali uomini celeberrimi che per opinione commune il mondo non n'avria altrettanti.*"

† Soriano, 1536: "*E Romano di sangue et è d' animo molto gagliardo: stima assai l'ingiurie che gli si fanno, et è inclinatissimo a far grandi i suoi.*" (App. No. 21.) Varchi (*Istorie Fiorentine*, p. 636,) relates of Paul's first secretary, Messer Ambrogio, that he was "a man who could do all that he willed, and who willed all that he could do." Amongst many other presents, he once received sixty silver washing-basins, with their ewers. "How

to princely rank, as other pontiffs had done before him.

It cannot, however, be affirmed that, like Alexander VI., he sacrificed everything to this object ; he was most anxiously bent on re-establishing peace between France and Spain, on putting down the protestants, making war against the Turks, and reforming the church : but his heart was also much set on elevating his own house.

The variety and importance of objects, both public and private, which he pursued, forced him upon an extremely cautious, watchful, temporizing, policy ; everything depended on the favourable moment, the fortunate combination of circumstances ; these he was compelled to mature by slow degrees, and, when the critical moment arrived, to seize them with the utmost promptitude, and to hold them with the most determined grasp.

Ambassadors found it difficult to negotiate with him. They were astonished, that though he never exhibited a trace of want of courage, they could rarely bring him to a decision. While he sought to entangle others, to win from them a word that would not be withdrawn, or a promise that could not be revoked, he was never betrayed into an expression that could bind himself. This was observed in lesser things ; he showed a constant disinclination either to refuse or to promise anything ; he chose to keep his hands free to the last minute. How much more then in occasions of difficulty ! Sometimes he him-
does it come about," said somebody, " that, with so many washing-basins, he cannot keep his hands clean ?"

self suggested means of escaping from, or obviating the evil, but if others tried to seize upon them, he instantly retracted; he chose to remain always master of every transaction in which he was concerned.*

He was, as we have said, of the same classical school which had produced some of his most eminent predecessors, and made it a rule to express himself in the most choice and elegant Latin or Italian; he weighed every word with the double consideration both of matter and form, and uttered them in a soft voice and with the slowest deliberation.

It was often difficult for a man to ascertain how he stood with him. Sometimes people thought it safer to conclude the contrary from what he said.

* In the *Lettres et Mémoires d'Estat*, par Guill. Ribier, Paris, 1666,—are to be found a crowd of documents relating to his negotiations and their character, from 1537 to 1540, and from 1547 to 1549, in the despatches of the French ambassadors. Matteo Dandolo describes them in a straightforward manner in the *Relatione di Roma*, 1551, d. 20 Junii, in *Senatu*,—a MS. in my possession. (App. No. 27.) “ Il negoziare con P. Paolo fu giudicato ad ogn'un difficile, perche era tardissimo nel parlare, perche non voleva mai proferire parola che non fusse elegante et exquisita, cosi nella volgare come nella latina e greca, che di tutte tre ne faceva professione (Greek, I should think, he could not often have used in his negotiations) e mi aveva scoperto di quel poco che io ne intendeva. E perche era vecchissimo, parlava bassissimo et era longhissimo, ne volèa negar cosa che se gli addimandasse; ma nè anche (volea) che l'uomo che negoziava seco potesse esser sicuro di havere havuto da S. S^a. il sì piu che il no, perche lei voleva starsi sempre in l' vantaggio di poter negare e concedere: per il che sempre si risolveva tardissimamente, quando volea negare.”

Yet this conclusion would not always have been just. Those who were more immediately about him, remarked that when he was most sanguine of the success of any undertaking, he said nothing about it, and avoided all contact with the persons or things connected with it.* So much was clear to all—that he never relinquished a project he had once entertained; he hoped to accomplish whatever he had undertaken, if not presently, yet at some future time, under altered circumstances, and by other means.

Such a character of mind, such a tendency to far-sighted calculation, to consider things on every side and to ponder on them in secret, was not inconsistent with a disposition to take into account heavenly as well as earthly influences. The influence of the stars on the results of human actions was at that time little doubted. Paul III. appointed no important sitting of the consistory, undertook no journey, without observing the constellations, and choosing the day which appeared to him recommended by their aspect.† A treaty with France was delayed because there was no conformity between the nativity of the pope and that of the king. It seems that Paul felt himself placed in the midst of a thousand conflicting influences, not only of this lower world, but of the supernal: it was his

* Observations of the cardinal Carpi and Margareta: “che son los,” says Mendoza, “que mas platica tienen de su condicion.”

† Mendoza: “Es venido la cosa a que ay muy pocos cardenales, que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es o por medio de algun astrologo o hechizo.” We find the most unquestionable particulars relating to the pope.

endeavour to have due regard to both, to avert their hostility, to improve their favour, and to steer his course adroitly amongst the rocks which threatened destruction on every side.

We will examine what were the means he employed, whether they were successful, whether he really raised himself above the contending powers that agitated the world, or whether he was involved in their struggles.

In the first years of his reign he succeeded in concluding an alliance with Charles V. and the Venetians, against the Turks. He urged the Venetians to this measure with great eagerness; for hopes were now, as at other times, entertained of extending the frontiers of Christendom to Constantinople.

But the war which had broken out anew between Francis I. and Charles was a formidable obstacle to this enterprise. The pope spared no efforts to bring about a reconciliation. The meeting of the two sovereigns at Nice, to which he also was a party, was entirely his work, and the Venetian ambassador who was present cannot find words in which to eulogise the zeal and patience which he displayed through the whole affair. It was only with extraordinary labour, and not till the last moment, when he had threatened to go away, that he succeeded in negotiating a truce.* He brought about a good understanding between the two princes, which soon appeared to ripen into a kind of intimacy.

Whilst the pope was thus actively employed in

* *Relatione del Cl^{mo}. M. Niccolo Tiepolo del Convento di Nizza. Informatt. Politiche, vi.* (Library at Berlin.) There is likewise an old impression.

public business, he did not neglect his own concerns. It was remarked that he always interwove the one with the other, and advanced both simultaneously. The Turkish war thus afforded him an opportunity of confiscating Camerino. It had just been united to Urbino; the last of the house of Varano, the heiress of Camerino, having married Guidobaldo II. who in the year 1538 came into possession of the government of Urbino.* But the pope pronounced that Camerino could not be inherited by a woman. The Venetians were bound in justice to support the duke, whose ancestors had always lived under their protection and served in their armies; they did indeed intercede in the most urgent and spirited manner in his behalf, but they hesitated to do more, lest it should involve them in a war. They feared that the pope would call in the aid of the emperor or of France, cautiously considering that if he gained over the emperor, that sovereign would have so much the less force to bring against the Turks, while, if France were triumphant, the peace of Italy would be endangered and their position would be still more unfavourable and unsupported.† They therefore left the duke to his fate, and he was forced to evacuate Camerino, which the pope conferred on his grandson Ottavio.

The house of Farnese was already rising into power and magnificence. The congress at Nice was extremely advantageous to Paul. At the very

* *Adriani Istorie*, 58. H.

† The deliberations are given in the above-quoted Commentary on the Turkish War, which thus possesses a peculiar interest.

time it was sitting his son Pietro Luigi, obtained Novara and its territory from the emperor, who, at the same time, determined to marry his natural daughter Margaret, after the death of Alessandro de' Medici, to Ottavio Farnese. We may give full credit to the pope's assertion, that notwithstanding these marks of favour, he did not absolutely join the imperial party. He wished, on the contrary, to form an equally close connection with Francis I., who, on his side, showed himself well inclined to this alliance, and promised him the hand of the duke of Vendôme, a prince of the blood, for his granddaughter Vittoria.* This connection with the two most powerful houses in the world was a source of great happiness to Paul; he was so sensible of the honour which it conferred, that he spoke of it in the consistory. The attitude of a peace-maker, a mediator, which he occupied between these two powers, also flattered his ambition as head of the church.

These circumstances did not however lead to such favourable results as they had promised. No advantages whatever had been gained over the Ottoman power; on the contrary, Venice was obliged to accede to a disadvantageous peace. Francis I. recalled the promise which he had made at Nice,

* Grignan, Ambassadeur du Roi de France à Rome, au Connétable. Ribier, i. p. 251: " Monseigneur, sadite Sainteté a un merveilleux désir du mariage de Vendosme: car il s'en est entièrement déclaré à moy, disant que pour estre sa nièce unique et tant aimée de luy, il ne désirait après le bien de la Chrestienté autre chose plus que voir sadite nièce mariée en France, dont ledit Seigneur (Le Roi) luy avait tenu propos à Nice, et après vous, Monseigneur, luy en aviez parlé."

and although the pope never relinquished the hope of eventually forming a connection with the house of Valois, the negotiation advanced very tardily. The good understanding which the pope established between the emperor and the king, seemed for a time to become more and more perfect; so much so as at one time almost to excite the jealousy of the pope, and to draw from him complaints that he, who was the author of it, was neglected*; yet it presently broke off, and war began anew. The pope then raised his views to higher objects.

He had formerly declared among his friends, and had even given the emperor to understand, that Milan belonged to the French, and ought of right to be restored to them.†

He gradually ceased to express this opinion. We find, on the contrary, from cardinal Carpi, who was more in his confidence than any other of the sacred college, that he made a proposition to Charles V., the aim of which was quite of an opposite kind.‡ “The emperor,” says this document, “should not aspire to be count, or duke, or prince;—he must be solely emperor. He ought not to have numerous provinces, but great vassals. His for-

* Grignan, 7 Mars, 1539. Ribier, i. 406. Le Cardinal de Boulogne au Roi, 20 Avril, 1539. Ibid. p. 445. The pope said to him, “qu’il estoit fort estonné, veu la peine et travail qu’il avoit pris pour vous appointer, vous et l’Empereur, que vous le laissiez ainsi arrière.”

† M. A. Contarini also confirms this in his Narrative.

‡ Discurso del R^{mo}. C^{le}. di Carpi, del 1543, (perhaps though even a year earlier,) a Carlo V. Cesare, Del modo del dominare. Bibl. Corsini, n. 443.

tunes have declined from the time he took possession of Milan. It would be unadvisable for him to give it back to Francis I., whose rapacity it would only serve to stimulate; but neither on the other hand ought he to retain it.* The suspicion that he sought to gain possession of foreign countries, was the sole cause of his having enemies. If he put an end to this suspicion, if he surrendered Milan into the possession of a duke of its own, Francis I. would find no more adherents; while he, on the contrary, the emperor, would have Germany and Italy on his side, would carry his standard into the remotest regions, and would associate his name (such is the expression) with immortality."

If then the emperor was neither to surrender Milan to the French, nor to retain possession of it himself, to whom was he to cede it? The pope thought it a good solution of the problem, to give it to his grandson, the son-in-law of the emperor,—a scheme he had already hinted at on former occasions. At a fresh meeting which he had with the emperor in the year 1543 at Busseto, he formally proposed it. Very serious negotiations were carried on to that effect, and the pope cherished the liveliest hopes of success. The governor of Milan, the marchese di Vasto, whom he had gained over,

* "Se la M. V. dello Stato di Milano le usasse cortesia, non tanto si spegnerebbe quanto si accenderebbe la sete sua; sì che è meglio di armarsi di quel Ducato contra di lui.—V. M. ha da esser certa, che, non per affettione che altri abbia a questo Re, ma per interesse particolare, e la Germania e l'Italia, sinche da tal sospetto non saranno liberate, sono per sostentare ad ogni lor potere la potentia di Francia."

being of a somewhat credulous and ostentatious temper, one day presented himself with a well-prepared speech, as about to conduct Margaret, his future sovereign lady, to Milan. According to the information I have been able to collect, it appears that the negotiation was broken off in consequence of some exorbitant demands of the pope.* It is however hard to believe that the emperor could be induced by any considerations, to yield up to foreign influence a territory so important from its size and situation.

For even without this accession of power, the position which the house of Farnese had reached was full of danger to him. Of the Italian provinces which Charles governed, or over which he had influence, there was not one in which the existing government had not been founded by force, or at least which did not stand in need of the support of force. On all sides, in Milan, as well as in Naples,

* Pallavicini has directly denied these transactions. From what Muratori alleges also, (*Annali d'Italia*, x. 11. 51.) there is perhaps room for doubt. He relies on historians who at all events could have written on hearsay only. But a letter from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosmo Medici, Cremona, 26 Giugno, 1543, in the *Archivio Mediceo* at Florence, is decisive. Granvella has himself spoken of it. "S. M^a. mostrava non esser aliena, quando per la parte del papa fussino adempiute le larghe offerte eran state proferte dal duca di Castro sin a Genova." I do not know what these offers might have been, but they were too strong for the pope. According to Gosselini, secretary to Ferrante Gonzaga, the emperor feared on his departure, "che in volgendo egli le spalle (i Farnesi) non pensassero ad occuparlo:" (*Vita di Don Ferrando*, p. iv.) An unprinted Neapolitan Life of Vasto, which is to be found in the Chigi Library at Rome, contains very circumstantial and amusing details on this subject.

Florence, Genoa, and Siena, there were malcontents belonging to defeated parties; Rome and Venice were full of emigrants. The Farnesi were not restrained by their near connection with the emperor from allying themselves with these parties, which, though subdued, were still formidable from the consideration enjoyed by their chiefs, from their wealth and followers. At the head of the conquerors stood the emperor; the conquered sought refuge with the pope. Innumerable secret ties bound them to each other; they were always visibly or invisibly connected with France, and were constantly engaged in new plots and enterprizes. Sometimes these related to Siena, sometimes to Genoa, sometimes to Lucca. The pope made incessant attempts to obtain a footing in Florence, but in the young duke Cosmo he encountered precisely the man fitted to withstand him. Cosmo expresses himself on this subject with undisguised confidence in his own powers. "The pope," says he, "who has been successful in so many undertakings, has now no more eager wish than to accomplish something in Florence, and to alienate this city from the emperor; but this wish will lead him into the pit."*

In a certain view, the emperor and the pope still stood opposed to each other as chiefs of rival factions. Though the emperor had married his daughter to

* A Letter of Cosmo, found in the Archivio Mediceo:—likewise written in the year 1537. "Al papa non e restato altra voglia in questo mondo se non disporre di questo stato e levarlo dalla divotione dell' imperatore," &c.

one of the pope's family, he had done so only that he might hold him in check, in order, as he himself says, to maintain the existing state of things in Italy. The pope, on the other hand, sought to turn his alliance with the emperor to his own advantage. He wished to make both the protection of the emperor, and the assistance of that sovereign's enemies, subservient to the exaltation of his family. The parties of Guelf and Ghibelline still subsisted in fact, though not in name; the latter still adhering to the emperor, the former to the pope.

Spite of all these appearances, in the year 1545, we find the two leaders again on a footing of amity. Margaret was pregnant; and the prospect of shortly numbering a descendant of the emperor in his own family, turned the current of Farnese's feelings once more in favour of Charles V. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, charged by Paul with one of the most important missions he had ever sent, repaired to the emperor's court at Worms. The cardinal once more succeeded in appeasing the displeasure of the emperor. He sought to justify himself and his brothers from some of the charges that had been brought against them, craved pardon with regard to others, and promised that in future they would all be obedient servants and sons of his majesty. The emperor replied, that on those conditions he would treat them as his own children.

They then proceeded to the discussion of weighty matters. They consulted as to the war against the protestants, and agreed that the council should be immediately convened. In case the emperor

should determine to take up arms against the protestants, the pope bound himself to support him with all his power and with all his resources; nay "to sell his crown, if necessary." *

The council was in fact opened in that same year; a circumstance of which we here find the first satisfactory explanation.

In the year 1546 war too broke out. The pope and the emperor united to destroy the league of Smalcalde, which was not much less injurious to the temporal power of the latter, than to the spiritual authority of the former. The pope furnished money and troops.

The design of the emperor was, to unite the terror of arms with the persuasiveness of negotiation. While he chastised the disobedience of the protestants, the council was to allay religious differences, and, above all, to introduce such reforms as might render it in some sort possible for them to submit.

The war advanced with unexpected success. At first, the situation of Charles might have been esteemed desperate, but in the most perilous cir-

* Granvella himself affords us authentic information as to the mission: *Dispaccio di Monsignor di Cortona al Duca di Fiorenza, Vormatia, 29 Maggio, 1545*: (Granvella) "Mi concludse in somma ch' el cardinale era venuto per giustificarsi d'alcune calunnie, e supplica S. M. che quando non potesse interamente discolpare l'attioni passate di N^{ro}. Signore sue e di sua casa, ella si degnasse rimetterle e non ne tener conto.—Expose di più, in caso che S. M. si resolvesse di sbattere per via d'arme, perche per giustitia non si vedeva quasi modo alcuno, li Luterani, S. Beatitudine concorrerà con ogni somma di denari."

cumstances he maintained his firmness. In the autumn of 1546 he saw the whole of Upper Germany in his hands; cities and princes rivalled each other in the eagerness with which they tendered their allegiance. The moment seemed to have arrived in which the protestant party in Germany might be crushed, and the whole north be restored to catholicism.

In this crisis what was the conduct of the pope?

He recalled his troops from the imperial army, and removed the council, now on the point of fulfilling its end and exercising its pacificatory power, from Trent, where it had met at the request of the Germans, to Bologna, the second city of his own states. The pretext for this change was, that some contagious disease had broken out at Trent.

His motives were not doubtful. The political tendencies of the papacy were once more in conflict with the ecclesiastical. That the whole of Germany should be conquered by, and really subject to, the emperor, could never be agreeable to him. His deep and subtle calculations had led him to expect a far different result. He had, perhaps, believed that the emperor would succeed in some things advantageous to the catholic church; but at the same time, as he himself acknowledges*, he had no doubt that he should see him encounter innumer-

* Charles, Cl. de Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct. 1547, (Ribier, ii. p. 75.); after an audience of the pope, in which Paul explains the motives which had led him to take part in the German war: "Aussi à dire franchement qu'il estoit bien mieux de l'empescher (l'empereur) en un lieu, dont il pensait, qu'aisement il ne viendrait à bout."

able difficulties, and fall into perplexities which would leave him, the pope, more complete liberty to pursue his own aims. But fortune mocked at his schemes. He had now to fear—and France called his attention to the fact—that this overwhelming power would re-act upon Italy, and would soon manifest itself but too clearly to him, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. But, independent of this, his anxieties concerning the council were increased. It had long oppressed him*, and he had already considered of means of dissolving it; but now some of the prelates of the imperial party, made more and more daring by victory, ventured on measures of remarkable audacity. The Spanish bishops brought forward certain articles, under the name of *censuræ*, the collective tendency of which was to diminish the consideration of the pope. The reformation, always so much dreaded at Rome, seemed as if it could no longer be delayed.

It sounds strangely, but nothing is more true:—at the moment when the whole of northern Germany trembled at the impending restoration of the papal power, the pope felt himself an ally of the protestants. He betrayed his joy at the progress of elector John Frederic against duke Maurice, and desired nothing more earnestly than that the former might be able to hold out against the emperor. He sent a message to Francis I., who was

* Du Mortier, au Roy, 26 Avril 1547: "Je vous assure, Sire, que pendant il estoit à Trente, c'estoit une charge qui le pressoit fort."

already trying to unite all the world in a league against Charles, "to support those who were not yet beaten."* It seemed to him once more probable that the emperor would encounter obstacles, and would have business on his hands for a long time to come. "He thinks so," says the French minister, "because he wishes it."

But he deceived himself as before. The fortune of the emperor baffled all his calculations. Charles was victorious at Mühlberg, and led away captive the two chiefs of the protestant party. He was now free to direct his attention more closely than ever to Italy.

The pope's behaviour had, as we may imagine, profoundly irritated Charles. He saw through it completely. "The intention of his holiness from the beginning has been," writes he to his ambassador, "to entangle us in this undertaking, and then to desert us."†

* Le même, au même: Ribier, i. 637.—S. S. "a entendu que le duc de Saxe se trouve fort, dont elle a tel contentement comme celuy qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d'exécuter ses entreprises, et connoist-on bien qu'il seroit utile sous-main d'entretenir ceux qui luy résistent, disant, que vous ne sçauriez faire dépense plus utile."

† Copia de la Carta que S. M. scrivio a Don Diego de Mendoza, a 11 de Hebrero, 1547, aõs: "Quanto mas yva el dicho (prospero suceso) adelante, mas nos confirmavamos en creher que fuese verdad lo que antes se havia savido de la intencion y inclinacion de S. S. y lo que se dezia (es) que su fin havia sido por embaraçar nos en lo que estavamos y dexarnos en ello con sus fines, desiiños y platicas, pero que, aunque pesasse a S. S. y a otros, esperavamos con la ayuda de N. S., aunque sin la de S. S., guiar esta impresa a buen camino."

The withdrawal of the pope's troops was not very important. Ill-paid, and therefore disorderly and ill-disciplined, they had never been worth much. But the transfer of the council was of the greatest moment. It is strange how, in this instance also, the discord between the papacy and the empire, originating in the political position of the former, came in aid of the protestants. Means were now forthcoming to compel them to submit to the council; but as there was a rupture in the council itself (for the imperial bishops remained in Trent), as it was thus incapacitated from passing any decree universally binding, nobody could be constrained to give in his adhesion.

The emperor was compelled to see the most essential part of his plan wrecked by the desertion of his ally. He not only continually urged the re-establishment of the council at Trent, but declared "that he would go to Rome, and hold a council there himself."

Paul III. lost no time in determining the part he had to take. "The emperor is mighty," said he, "but we too are not wholly powerless or friendless." The long-promised alliance with France was now brought about by the betrothal of Orazio Farnese with the natural daughter of Henry II. No means were left untried to gain over the Venetians immediately to a general league. All the exiles of the several states were in motion. Precisely at the opportune moment, troubles broke out in Naples; a Neapolitan deputy appeared to solicit the protection of the pope for his vassals in

that state, and there were cardinals who advised him to grant it.

The Italian factions were once more confronted. Their attitude was the more decidedly hostile, since their respective leaders were now at open variance. On the one side, were the governors of Milan and Naples, the Medici in Florence, the Dorias in Genoa. Don Diego Mendoza, the imperial envoy in Rome, may be regarded as forming the centre of this party, which had still a great Ghibelline following all over the country. On the other, were the pope and the Farnesi, the emigrants and the malcontents, a newly-formed Orsini party, and the adherents of France. With the former, was that part of the Council which remained in Trent; with the latter, the part which had gone to Bologna.

The hatred which these parties cherished against each other suddenly broke out in an act of violence.

The pope had taken advantage of his intimacy with the emperor, to grant Parma and Piacenza, as if they were a fief of the holy see, to his son Pier-Luigi. The times were over when he could take a step like that, with the audacious recklessness of an Alexander or a Leo; he therefore restored Camerino and Nepi, as an indemnification to the church. Reckoning the expense caused by the guarding those frontier towns, the interest of this, which his son would pay, and the revenues of the places given up in compensation, he endeavoured to prove that the treasury of the church suffered no injury; but it was only while talking to each of the cardinals separately that he was able to persuade them, nor

even so, was he successful with them all. Some loudly remonstrated; others designedly neglected to attend the consistory before which the affair was brought. Caraffa was seen to pay a solemn visit to the seven churches on that day.* The emperor too was unfavourable to the project; if the duchy was to be transferred at all, he would have wished that it should pass into the hands of his son-in-law Ottavio, to whom Camerino likewise belonged.† He suffered the transfer to take place, because the friendship of the pope was just then necessary to him, but he never liked it: he knew Pier-Luigi far too well. The pope's son just then held in his hand all the threads of the secret ties which united the Italian opposition. It was universally believed that he was privy to the conspiracy of Fiesco in Genoa; that he had helped the powerful chief of the Florentine exiles, Pietro Strozzi, at his utmost need, to escape across the Po, after his unsuccessful attack on Milan, and that he was the sole instrument of his preservation. It was suspected that he himself had designs upon Milan.‡

One day the pope, who still believed the stars to be propitious, and flattered himself that he had power to charm to rest all the storms that had

* Bromato: *Vita di Paolo IV.*, ii. 222.

† The negotiations in the matter are evident from the Letter of Mendoza, dated 29th November 1547. The pope says, "he had invested Pietro Luigi, because the cardinals had preferred it:" and, "haviendo de vivir tampoco, como mostrava su indisposicion."

‡ Gosselini: *Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga*, p. 20. Segni: *Storie Fiorentine*, p. 292.

threatened him, appeared unusually cheerful at the audience. He recounted the felicities of his life, and compared himself in this respect with the emperor Tiberius. On that very day, his son, the possessor of all his acquisitions, the heir of his prosperity, was fallen upon by the conspirators at Piacenza and assassinated.*

The Ghibellines of Piacenza, offended and irritated by the tyranny of the duke, who was one of the most despotic rulers of the age, and whose government was peculiarly oppressive to the nobility, were the perpetrators of the deed ; but we have no reason to question the existence of grounds for the belief then universally entertained, that Ferrante Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, had a hand in the affair.† Gonzaga's biographer, then his confidential private secretary, affirms that the design was only to take Farnese prisoner, and not to kill him.‡ I find in some manuscripts still more intelligible hints that the emperor himself was privy to this atrocious act ; but I hesitate to give credit to this without further evidence. At all events the imperial troops hastened to take possession of Piacenza, and to

* Mendoça, al Emperador, 18 Sept. 1547: " Gastò la mayor parte del tiempo (on that day) en contar sus felicidades y compararse a Tiberio imperador."

† " Compertum habemus Ferdinandum esse autorem," said the pope in the consistory: *Extrait du Consistoire tenu par N. S. Père, in a Despatch from Morvillier, Venise, 7 Sept. 1547: Ribier, ii. 61.*

‡ Gosselini, p. 45: " Nè l'imperatore nè D. Fernando, come di natura magnanimi, consentirono mai alla morte del duca Pier Luigi Farnese, anzi fecero ogni opera di salvarlo, comandando in specialità ai congiurati che vivo il tenessero."

assert the claim of the empire to that city. This was in some sort a retaliation on the pope for his desertion in the war of Smalcalde.

The state of things which now arose is without a parallel.

Some affected to know that cardinal Alessandro Farnese had said, that he could extricate himself from his difficulties only by the death of certain of the imperial ministers ; that he could not get rid of them by force, and must have recourse to stratagem. While they, in consequence of this warning, sought to protect themselves from poison, two or three Corsican bravoës, who were arrested at Milan, were induced to make confession, I know not whether true or false, that they were hired by the pope's party to assassinate Ferrante Gonzaga. At all events, Gonzaga was exasperated afresh. He must, he said, protect his own life as he could ; nothing remained to him but to remove out of the way two or three of his enemies by his own hand or that of another.* Mendoza is of opinion that there was a design at that time to murder all the Spaniards in Rome ; that the people were to be secretly incited to this ; and that the deed, when done, was to be excused on the ground of their blind and uncontrolable fury.

A reconciliation was not to be thought of. There had been a desire to employ the emperor's daughter as mediatrix. But she had never liked the

* Mendoza al Emp.: "Don Hernando procurara de asegurar su vida come mejor pudiere, hechando a parte dos o tres di estos o por su mano o por mano de otros."

Farnese family; she despised her youthful husband, and betrayed his bad qualities without the least reserve to the ambassadors: she said, she had rather cut off her child's head, than ask her father any thing that could displease him.

Mendoza's correspondence with his court lies before me. It would not be easy to find any thing approaching to these letters for deep-rooted hate, which both endeavoured to conceal, and which each perceived in the other. There is in them a feeling of haughty superiority saturated with bitterness; of contempt, yet ever on its guard; of distrust, such as men feel towards a notorious criminal.

In this posture of things, the only country where the pope could hope to find refuge and succour, was France. In fact we find him sometimes discussing the relation of the Roman see to France, for hours, in the presence of the French ambassador and cardinals Guise and Farnese. He said he had read in old books, and had heard from others when he was cardinal, and since he was pope he had found from experience, that the holy see was always powerful and prosperous when in alliance with France, and on the contrary, fell into adversity as soon as this was broken off; that he could not forgive Leo X. nor his own predecessor Clement—he could not forgive himself—for having ever showed favour to the emperor; that now, at all events, he was resolved to unite himself for ever with France. He hoped to live long enough to leave the papal chair devotedly attached to the king of France; he would endeavour to make him the greatest prince

in the world, and his own house should connect itself with him by indissoluble ties.*

His design was to conclude with France, Switzerland, and Venice, an alliance, which, though at first only defensive, was, by his own confession, to open the door to an offensive† alliance. The French calculated that their friends, if united, would secure to them as large a territory in Italy as that possessed by the emperor; and the whole Orsini party was ready once more to devote property and life to the king. The Farnesi thought that in the Milanese territory they could at least reckon on Cremona and Pavia; while the Neapolitan emigrants promised to bring 15,000 men into the field, and immediately to deliver up Aversa and Naples. The pope entered with eagerness into all these projects. He communicated to the French ambassador the first intelligence of a design upon Genoa. He would have made no objection to a treaty with the Grand Signior or the dey of Algiers, for the sake of getting possession of Naples. Edward VI. had just ascended the throne of England, and the government of that country was decidedly protestant;

* Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct. 1547: Ribier, ii. 75.

† Guise, au Roy, 11 Nov. 1547: Ribier, ii. 81: "Sire, il semble au pape à ce qu'il m'a dit qu'il doit commencer à vous faire déclaration de son amitié par vous présenter luy et toute sa maison: et pour ce qu'ils n'auraient puissance de vous faire service ny vous aider à offenser, si vous premièrement vous ne les aidez à défendre, il luy a semblé devoir commencer par la ligne défensive, laquelle il dit estre la vraye porte de l'offensive." The whole of the correspondence which follows, belongs to this place.

nevertheless the pope advised Henry II. to make peace with England, "in order," as he says, "to be able to carry into effect other views for the good of Christendom."*

Thus violent was the pope's hostility to the emperor, thus intimate his connexion with the French, thus vast were the views in which he indulged: and yet he never completed his treaty; he never took the final step.

The Venetians were amazed. "The pope," said they, "is attacked in his dignity, injured in his nearest connexions, robbed of the fairest possession of his house; he ought to catch at every alliance, on any terms: and yet after so many injuries and insults he still hesitates and wavers."

Generally speaking, offences drive men to extreme resolutions; there are however some who deliberate even when they are most deeply offended; not because the feeling of revenge is less strong in them than in others, but because the consciousness of the superiority of the offending party is still stronger than their desire of vengeance: the prudence which contemplates future and contingent events, preponderates in them over every other sentiment; great misfortunes do not exasperate them, but render them spiritless, feeble, and irresolute.

* François de Rohan, au Roy, 24 Février 1548: Ribier, ii. 117: "S. S. m'a commandé de vous faire entendre et conseiller de sa part, de regarder les moyens que vous pouvez tenir, pour vous mettre en paix pour quelque temps avec les Anglais, afin que n'estant en tant d'endroits empesché vous puissiez plus facilement exécuter vos desseins et entreprises pour le bien public de la Chrestienté."

The emperor was too powerful to have any serious cause to fear the Farnesi ; he went on his way without taking further heed of them. He solemnly protested against the sittings of the council in Bologna, and declared beforehand all the acts which might be passed there, null and void. In the year 1548 he published the Interim in Germany. Notwithstanding the pope thought it intolerable that the emperor should prescribe a standard of faith, notwithstanding his bitter complaints that the property of the church should be left in the hands of its present possessors, (besides which cardinal Farnese said that he could point out seven or eight heresies in this document*,) the emperor was not disconcerted.

Nor did he turn one hair's breadth from his course in the affair of Piacenza. The pope demanded the immediate restitution of that city ; the emperor maintained that it belonged of right to the empire. The pope appealed to the treaty of 1521, in which it was guaranteed to the Roman see ; the emperor insisted on the word investiture, by which the empire had asserted its sovereign rights ; the pope replied, that in this case the word was not used in the strict feudal sense ; the emperor made no further rejoinder ; he only

* "Hazer intender a V.M. como en el Interim ay 7 o 8 heregias : " "Mendoça, 10 Juni 1548." Amongst the Lettere del Commendatore Annibal Caro scritte al nome del Cl. Farnese, which are otherwise written with great caution, we find however, i. 65, a letter to the cardinal Sfondrato, relating to the Interim, in which it is said, "the emperor has scandalized all Christendom ; he might have undertaken something better."

declared that his conscience did not permit him to give up Piacenza.*

The pope would gladly have flown to arms, concluded a treaty with France, and set his party in motion; (and indeed the intrigues of his adherents were felt in Naples, Genoa, Siena, Piacenza, and even in Orbitello);—gladly would he have revenged himself by any unexpected blow: but on the other hand, the superior power of the emperor was extremely formidable to him, and above all, the influence of that monarch in spiritual affairs. Paul took care that a council should be called which should declare itself entirely hostile to Charles, and should even proceed to depose him. Mendoza asserts that the attempted assassination of Ferrante Gonzaga by the Corsicans had inspired him with terror.

Be this as it may, it is certain that he restrained himself and concealed his rage. The Farnesi were indeed not sorry that the emperor took possession of Siena; they hoped he would cede it to them as a compensation for their losses, and indulged in the most extravagant propositions regarding it. “If the emperor consents to this,” said they to Mendoza, “the pope must transfer the council back again to Trent, and must not only conduct matters there according to the wishes of the emperor, (for

* *Lettere del Cardinal Farnese scritte al Vescovo di Fano, Nuntio all' Imperatore Carlo: Informationi Politiche*, xix.: and certain Instructions of the pope's and Farnese's, *Ib.* xii.:—throw light upon these negotiations. I can only touch upon the most important points.

example, solemnly recognize his right to Burgundy,) but proclaim Charles V. his successor to the papal chair. "For," added they, "Germany has a cold climate, Italy a warm one, and warm countries are the most salutary for the gout, which the emperor suffers from." * I will not maintain that they were in earnest, for the old pope lived in the firm belief that the emperor would die before him; but it is clear on what dubious paths, how widely departing from the common order of things, their policy had ventured.

Their movements, their negotiations with the emperor, did not escape the French. We have a letter of the constable Montmorency, breathing the greatest indignation, in which he talks undisguisedly of "hypocrisies, lies, and wicked actions, which were practised in Rome against the king of France." †

Lastly, with a view to do something, and to get possession of at least one firm point in these struggles, the pope determined, since the right to Piacenza was contested, not as regarded his family alone, but the church itself, to restore that duchy immediately to the holy see. It was the first time that he did any thing to prejudice the interests of his

* The cardinal Gambara made this proposal to Mendoza, at a secret meeting in a church. He said at least, "que havia scripto al papa algo desto y no lo havia tomado mal."

† Le Connestable, au Roy, 1 Sept. 1548: (Ribier, ii. 155.): "Le pape avec ses ministres vous ont jusques-icy usé de toutes dissimulations, lesquelles ils ont depuis quelque temps voulu couvrir de pur mensonge, pour en former une vraye meschanceté, puisqu'il faut que je l'appelle ainsi."

grandsons. He had no doubt that they would readily acquiesce, for he imagined that he had absolute authority over them, and had always dwelt with approbation and pleasure on their constant obedience. But he had hitherto invariably been the defender of their obvious interests, whereas he now desired to effect a measure which ran counter to these.* At first they sought to work upon him by indirect means. They caused it to be represented to him that the day which he had fixed for the consistory was unlucky, being St. Roque's day; that the exchange for Camerino, which he meant to give them back instead of Piacenza, would be extremely disadvantageous to the church; they retorted upon him the arguments which he had formerly used; but they could only retard, not prevent, the execution of his design: Camillo Orsino, the governor of Parma, was at length instructed by Paul III. to hold that city in the name of the church, and to deliver it up to no one soever. Upon this declaration, which left no doubt remaining, the Farnesi contained themselves no longer; on no consideration would they suffer themselves to be despoiled of a principality which placed them on a level with the independent princes of Italy. Ottavio made an attempt to get Parma into his hands, by force or fraud, in spite of the pope. This Camillo had sufficient address and decision to defeat. But what must have been the feelings of Paul III. when he learned it! It was reserved for him in his old age.

* Dandolo also asserts his positive determination: "S. S. era al tutto volta a restituir Parma alla chiesa." (App. No. 27.)

to see his grandsons, whom he had loved with such partial affection, for whose sake he had drawn upon himself the reproaches of the world, now, at the close of his life, rise up in rebellion against him. Nor did the failure of his enterprise deter Ottavio from his purpose. He wrote plainly to the pope, that if Parma was not amicably restored to him, he would make peace with Ferrante Gonzaga, and endeavour to regain possession of it with the aid of the imperial arms; and, in fact, his negotiations with this mortal enemy of his house were already so far advanced, that a courier had gone to the emperor with definite proposals.* The pope loudly complained that he was betrayed by his own family, that their schemes could lead to nothing but his death. He was most deeply wounded by a report which was raised, that he was privy to Ottavio's undertakings, and had a share in them very much at variance with his professions. He told cardinal Este that never in his whole life had any thing given him so much pain,—not even the death of Pier-Luigi,—not even the investing of Piacenza; but that he would not leave the world in doubt as to his real sentiments.† His only comfort was the conviction that at least cardinal Alessandro Farnese was innocent and devoted to him. By degrees he discovered that he too, in whom he reposed entire confidence, to whose

* Gosselini, *Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga*, p. 65.

† Hippolyt, *Cardinal de Ferrare, au Roy*, 22 Oct. 1549; *Ribier*, ii. 248: “S. S. m’a assuré n’avoir en sa vie eu chose, dont elle ait tant receu d’ennuy, pour l’opinion qu’elle craint, qu’on veuille prendre que cecy ait esté de son consentement.”

hands he had committed all the affairs of his government, was but too much implicated in what was going on. This discovery broke his heart. On the day of All Souls, (2nd of Nov. 1549,) in the bitterness of his grief, he communicated it to the Venetian ambassador. On the following day he went to his vineyard on Monte Cavallo, hoping to find some relief from troubled thoughts; but change of place brought him no repose. He sent for cardinal Alessandro; one word led to another, till the pope fell into so violent a rage, that he snatched his nephew's cap out of his hand and threw it on the ground.* The court already entertained suspicions that a change was at hand, and it was universally believed that the pope would remove the cardinal from the administration. But the event turned out otherwise. This violent agitation, at the advanced age of eighty-three, proved fatal to Paul himself. He fell ill immediately, and, after a few days, (on the 10th of Nov. 1549,) expired.—The people crowded to kiss his foot. He was as much beloved as his grandsons were hated; and the cir-

* Dandolo: “Il Rev^{mo}. Farnese si risolse di non voler che casa sua restasse priva di Roma e se ne messe alla forte.—S. S. accertasi di questa contraoperatione del Rev^{mo}. Farnese me la comunicò il dì de' morti, in gran parte con grandissima amaritudine, et il dì dietro la mattina per tempo se ne andò alla sua vigna di Monte Cavallo per cercar transtullo, dove si incolerò per tal causa con esso Rev^{mo}. Farnese.—Gli fu trovato tutto l'interiore nettissimo, d' haver a viver ancor qualche anno, se non che nel core tre gocce di sangue agghiacciato, (which is indeed an error) giudicati dal moto della colera.” (App. No. 27.)

cumstances of his death, caused by those who had been the objects of his greatest kindness and solicitude, excited universal pity.

Paul III. was a man full of talent, intelligence, and penetrating sagacity ; the station he occupied was the highest that human ambition could aspire to :—but how feeble and insignificant appears the most powerful of mortals when opposed to the resistless course of events !

His most soaring flights of imagination are bounded by the span of time which is present to his view ; his loftiest aspirations are checked and overmastered by the struggles of the moment, which press upon him with all the weight of eternity.—Above all, he is trammelled by those private relations which give him constant occupation ; which fill his days, sometimes perhaps with satisfaction, but more frequently with disappointment and sorrow, and wear him out with anxiety and care. He dies ; while the eternal destinies of the world advance to their accomplishment.

§ 2. JULIUS III.

DURING the conclave, five or six cardinals were standing round the altar of the chapel, discoursing of the difficulty there was in finding a pope. “ Choose me,” said Cardinal Monte, “ and the day after I will make you my companions and favourites out of the whole college of cardinals.”—

“ Shall we really elect him ? ” said another, Sfondrato, when they had separated.*

As Monte was reckoned turbulent and irascible, he had but little hope, and no one would have ventured the smallest bet on his chance. Nevertheless, it fell out that he was elected, on the 7th of February, 1550. In memory of Julius II., whose chamberlain he had been, he took the name of Julius III.

There was an expression of joy on every face in the imperial court when this election, to which duke Cosmo had mainly contributed, was made known. The occupation of the Roman chair by a pope on whose devotion to his interests he could calculate, was one step to that pinnacle of prosperity and power on which the emperor then stood. Public affairs now seemed likely to take another course. The emperor still earnestly desired that the council should be re-assembled in Trent ; he still hoped to force the protestants to attend it and to submit themselves to his authority. The pope willingly assented to this proposition. Although he pointed out the difficulties inherent in the affair, he was extremely anxious that this caution might not be mistaken for a subterfuge ; he was unwearied in his protestations that this was not the case, that he had acted all his life long without dissimulation, and would continue so to act ; in fact, he fixed the

* Dandolo, Relatione, 1551 : “ Questo Rev^{mo}. Di Monte se ben subito in consideratione di ogn’ uno, ma all’ incontro ogn’ uno parlava tanto della sua colera e subitezza che ne passò mai che di pochissima scommessa.” (App. No. 27.)

renewal of the council of Trent for the spring of 1551, with a declaration that he bound himself by no agreements or conditions.*

But the favourable dispositions of the pope were far from being all that was required.

Ottavio Farnese had recovered Parma by a decree of the cardinals in conclave. This had not been opposed by the emperor; for a time negotiations had been carried on between them, and hopes were entertained of the restoration of a good understanding. The emperor, however, would not consent to evacuate Piacenza also, and kept possession even of the places which Gonzaga had occupied in the territory of Parma; so that Ottavio was compelled constantly to maintain a warlike attitude.†

No real confidence could possibly subsist between two persons who had inflicted so many injuries on each other. It is true that the death of Paul III. had deprived his grandsons of a powerful support; but it had also freed them from an irksome constraint. They were no longer obliged to pay any regard to the interests of the state, or to those of the church; they were free to take their own measures with exclusive regard to their own advantage. We find Ottavio constantly filled with the bitterest hate. He complains, that his enemies are seeking

* Lettere del Nunzio Pighino, 12 e 15 Ag., 1550 : Inff. Polit. xix.

† Gosselini, *Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga*, and the justification of Gonzaga, in the third book, from the accusation that he had been the cause of the war, explain authentically this turn of things.

to wrest Parma from him, and even to get rid of him, but he adds,—“they shall succeed neither in the one nor the other.”*

In this disposition of mind, he turned to Henry II. ; who gladly listened to his proposals.

Italy and Germany were filled with malcontents. What the emperor had already done,—what it was expected that he would do,—his religious and his political position,—all had raised up innumerable enemies. Henry II. determined to adopt the anti-Austrian policy of his father. He abandoned the war with England, concluded a treaty with Ottavio, took the garrison of Parma into his pay, and shortly after marched French troops into Mirandola. The French flag soon floated in the heart of Italy.

In this new complication of things, Julius III. adhered steadily to the emperor. He thought it insufferable,—“that a wretched worm, Ottavio Farnese, should set himself up against both an emperor and a pope.” “Our will is,” he writes to his nuntio, “to embark in the same boat with his majesty, and to commit ourselves to the same fortunes ; we leave it to him, who has the wisdom and the power, to determine our course.”† The emperor declared himself in favour of immediate and

* *Lettere delli Signori Farnesiani per lo negotio di Parma: Informatt. Pol. xix.* The above is from a letter of Ottavio to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Parma, 24th March, 1551.

† *Julius Papa III. Manu propria. Instruttione per voi Monsignor d'Imola con l'Imperatore. L'ultimo di Marzo: Informatt. Polit. xii.* He also gives the motive of this close union: “Non

forcible measures for getting rid of the French and their adherents. The united papal and imperial troops soon took the field, an important fortress in the Parmeggiano fell into their hands, they laid waste the whole country and completely surrounded Mirandola.

These petty hostilities however were wholly insufficient to check the movement which had indeed originated here, but had since agitated all Europe. On every frontier where the territories of France and of the empire met, by land and by sea, war had broken out. The German protestants, when at length they allied themselves with the French, threw into the scale a very different weight from that of the Italians. There followed the most determined attack that Charles had ever sustained. The French appeared on the Rhine, and the elector Maurice in Tyrol. The veteran conqueror,—who had posted himself on the mountain region between Italy and Germany, in order to hold both in allegiance,—saw himself suddenly perilled, conquered, and well-nigh captive.

This immediately re-acted on the affairs of Italy. “Never could we have believed,” said the pope, “that God would so visit us.”* He was compelled to accede to a truce with his enemies, in April, 1552.

There are sometimes strokes of ill fortune which are not wholly unwelcome to a man. They put an

per affetto alcuno humano, ma perchè vedemo la causa nostra esse con S. M^a. Cesarea in tutti li affari e massimamente in quello della religione.”

* Al Cl. Crescentio, 13th April, 1552.

end to a course of action which had already begun to be at variance with his inclinations ; and afford a lawful ground, or an obvious excuse, for the determination to desist from it.

It almost appears as if the reverse that had befallen the pope was of this nature. He had beheld with repugnance his states filled with troops and his treasury emptied, and he thought he had sometimes reason to complain of the imperial ministers.* The council too was become a cause of great anxiety to him. From the time the German deputies, to whom a reformation had been promised, appeared, the proceedings took a bolder character ; as early as January 1552, the pope complained that attempts were made to strip him of his authority ; that the intention of the Spanish bishops was, on the one side to reduce the chapters to a state of servile dependence, on the other, to deprive the holy see of the collation to all benefices ; but that he would not endure, under the plea of abuses, to be robbed of what was no abuse, but an essential attribute of his power.† It could not therefore be entirely displeasing to him that the attack of the protestants broke up the council ; he hastened to decree its suspension, and

* Lettera del Papa a Mendoza, 26th Dec. 1551 : (Inff. Polit. xix.): "Without pride be it said, we stand not in need of counsel ; we could even offer it to others : assistance indeed we might require."

† Al Cl. Crescentio, 16th Genn. 1552. He exclaims : "Non sarà vero, non comportaremo mai, prima lassaremo ruinare il mondo."

was thus freed from innumerable demands and altercations.

From that time Julius III. never again seriously embarked in a political career. The inhabitants of Siena complained indeed that, though half their countryman on his mother's side, he had assisted duke Cosmo to effect their subjugation; but a subsequent judicial enquiry proved the falsehood of this charge. It was rather Cosmo who had grounds for complaint; since the pope took no measures to prevent the Florentine emigrants, the bitterest enemies of this his ally, from assembling and arming in his states.

The stranger still visits the Villa di Papa Giulio at the entrance of the Porta del Popolo. With all the memorials of those days around him, he ascends the spacious staircase to the gallery whence he overlooks Rome in its full extent from Monte Mario, and all the windings of the Tiber. The construction of this palace, the laying out of this garden, were the occupation and the delight of Julius III. He drew the plan himself, but it was never completed; the architects were incessantly employed in the execution of the schemes and caprices to which every day gave birth.* Here the pope passed his days in oblivion of the world. He had done a good deal

* Vasari. Boissard describes their extent and their magnificence at that time: "Occupat fere omnes colles qui ab urbe ad pontem Milvium protenduntur;" and gives some of the inscriptions: e. g., "Honeste voluptarier cunctis fas honestis esto;" and, particularly: "De hinc proximo in templo Deo ac divo Andree gratias agunto (by this I understand the visitors,) vitamque et salutem Julio III. Pont^{ci}. Maximo, Balduino ejus fratri, et

for the advancement of his kinsmen. Duke Cosmo gave them Monte Sansovino, the place whence they sprang; the emperor, Novara; he himself bestowed upon them the dignities of the ecclesiastical states and Camerino. He had a favourite whom he had adopted when a child in Parma, where he happened to see him seized and held by an ape, and was so pleased by the courage and high spirit displayed by the boy in that perilous situation, that he brought him up and showed him great affection. Unfortunately the action which had attracted the pope's attention remained his only merit; nevertheless Julius had kept his promises to him, and had made him a cardinal. The pope wished that his favourite and his relations should be well provided for and should enjoy consideration, but he had no mind to get into dangerous perplexities on their account. The easy, pleasant life of his villa was, as we have said, best suited to his character and tastes. He gave entertainments, which he seasoned with conversation full of racy and proverbial expressions, sometimes of a sort to call up blushes on the cheeks of his guests. In the great affairs of the church and the state he took no more share than was absolutely inevitable.

eorum familiæ universæ plurimam et æternam precantor." Julius died on the 23rd of March, 1555.

§ 3. MARCELLUS II.

It was impossible that these affairs could prosper much under such a head. The divisions between the two great catholic powers daily assumed a more threatening aspect ; the German protestants had arisen with fresh vigour from their defeat of the year 1547, and had assumed a firmer front than ever. The catholic reformation, so often desired and attempted, was not to be thought of ; the prospects of the church of Rome were, it was impossible to disguise, extremely doubtful and dark.

But if, as we have seen, a most austere spirit had been awakened in her own bosom, a spirit that viewed with sincere and intense reprobation the lives and conduct of so many popes, must not this at length affect the choice of a new pontiff ? Much depended on the personal character of the head of the church, and for that very reason this supreme dignity was elective, in order that a man who represented the predominant spirit of the church might be placed at the head of affairs.

The first time that the stricter religious party obtained an influence in the election of a pope, was after the death of Julius III. Julius had often felt the constraint imposed on his undignified demeanour by the presence of cardinal Marcello Cervini. Upon him the choice fell, on the 11th of April, 1555. He took the name of Marcellus II.

His whole life had been active and irreproachable ; the reformation of the church, about which others talked, he had exhibited in his own person.

The highest hopes were conceived of him. "I had prayed," says a contemporary, "that a pope might arise who might raise those fair words, church, council, reform, from the contempt into which they had fallen; and now I held my hopes fulfilled; by this election my wishes seemed to me become facts, possessions."*

"The opinion," says another, "that men had of the goodness and the matchless wisdom of Marcellus, inspired the world with hope. Now, if ever, it seemed possible for the church to extinguish heretical opinions, to put an end to abuses and corrupt living, to regain her health and her unity."†

The commencement of the reign of Marcellus entirely fulfilled these anticipations. He would not suffer his relations to come to Rome; he introduced numerous reductions in the expenditure of his court; he is said to have left a memoir, composed by himself, on the improvements to be introduced in the institutes of the church; he immediately endeavoured to restore divine service to its due solemnity; all his thoughts were turned to a council and to reform.‡ In a political point of view, he took a neutral position, with which the emperor was satisfied. "Nevertheless," say his contemporaries, "the world was not worthy of him:"—they

* Seripando, al Vescovo di Fiesole: *Lettere di Principi*, iii. 162.

† *Lettere di Principi*, iii. 141. The editor himself speaks here.

‡ Petri Polidori de Vita Marcelli II. *Commentarius*, 1744, p. 119. (App. No. 28.)

apply to him the words of Virgil, concerning another Marcellus,—

“ Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.”

On the 22nd day of his pontificate he died.

We cannot speak of results produced by so short an administration ; but this beginning, this election even, show the spirit which had gained the ascendancy, and which it retained in the next conclave.

The most austere of all the cardinals, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, quitted that assembly invested with the dignity of pope, on the 23rd of May, 1555.

§ 4. AUL IV.

WE have made frequent mention of this pope. He is the same who founded the order of the Theatines, who re-established the inquisition, and who so essentially contributed to the confirmation of the old dogmas at Trent. It was not only a member, but the very chief and founder of that party which aimed at the restoration of catholicism in all its strictness, who now mounted the papal chair. Paul IV. had already attained the age of seventy-nine, but his deep-set eyes still gleamed with all the fire of youth ; he was extremely tall and thin, he walked quickly, and appeared to be all sinew. His daily life was subject to no rule or order ; he often slept by

day, and passed the night in study,—and woe to the servant who entered his room until he rang his bell. In every thing he followed the impulses of the moment*; but these impulses sprang from a character formed by a long life and become a second nature. He seemed conscious of no other duty, no other business, than the restoration of the ancient faith in all its primitive might and authority.

From time to time characters like that of Paul re-appear on the theatre of the world. Their conceptions of the world and of life are formed from a single point of view; their individual bent of mind is so strong that their opinions are absolutely governed by it; they are unwearied and eloquent speakers, and have always a certain earnestness and freshness of conversation, in which they pour out an incessant stream of those sentiments which seem to rule them by a sort of fatality. It is obvious that the influence of such men must be enormous, when they attain to a position where their actions depend solely and absolutely on their opinions, and where power is combined with will.

What might not be expected from Paul IV., who had never known what it was to make a concession or a compromise, who had always acted on

* *Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero (che fu poi Cardinale), alla Ser^{ma}. Rep^{ca}. di Venetia tornando di Roma Ambasciatore appresso del Pontefice Paolo IV., 1558: in many Italian libraries, also in the Informationi Politiche at Berlin: "La complessione di questo pontefice è colerica adusta: ha una incredibile gravità e grandezza in tutte le sue azioni et veramente pare nato al signoreggiare." (App. No. 30.)*

his opinions with the utmost vehemence, now that he had reached the summit of power? * He was astonished at his own elevation, as he had never conciliated a cardinal by a single concession, and had never abstained from displaying the utmost severity. He thought himself chosen, not by the cardinals, but by God himself, by whom he was called for the execution of his purposes. †

“We promise and swear,” says he, in the bull which he issued on entering on his office, “truly to endeavour that the reform of the universal church and of the Roman court be effected.” He marked the day of his coronation by the publication of edicts respecting monasteries and religious orders. He immediately dispatched two monks from Monte Cassino to Spain, to restore the monastic discipline which had fallen into decay in that country. He established a congregation for universal reform, consisting of three classes; each

* It is easy to imagine that his character was not such as to ensure universal approbation. Aretino's *Capitolo al Re di Francia*, thus describes him:

“Caraffa ipocrita infingardo,
Che tien per coscienza spirituale
Quando si mette del pepe in sul cardo.”

† *Relatione del Cl^{mo}. M. Aluise Mocenigo K. ritornato dalla Corte di Roma, 1560*: (Arch. Venez.): “Fu eletto pontefice contra il parer e credere di ogn'uno e forse anco di se stesso, come S. S. propria mi disse poco inanzi morisse, che non avea mai compiaciuto ad alcuno e che se un cardinale gli avea domandato qualche gratia gli avea sempre riposto alla riversa, nè mai compiaciutolo, onde disse: io non so come mi habbiano eletto papa e concludo che Iddio faccia li pontefici.” (App. No. 31.)

composed of eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty learned divines. The articles which were to form the subject of deliberation, regarding the nomination to offices, were submitted to the universities. The earnestness of purpose with which Paul entered on the work of reform is evident.* It appeared as if the ecclesiastical spirit, the influence of which had for a long time been confined to the lower ranks of the church, had now taken possession of the papacy also, and would preside with undivided sovereignty in the councils of Paul IV.

The only remaining question was, what position he would occupy with relation to the great movements which agitated the world.

It is not easy to alter the main directions which a power has taken, and which have gradually become a part of its very being.

From the very nature of things, it must ever have been the pope's desire to free himself from the overwhelming power of Spain, and the moment had now arrived in which this seemed practicable. The war which we have seen arise out of the troubles with the Farnesi was the most disastrous that Charles V. had ever carried on: he was embarrassed in the Netherlands; Germany had deserted him; Italy was no longer true; he could not even trust in the fidelity of the houses of Este and Gonzaga; he himself was sick and weary of life. I know not

* Bromato, *Vita di Paolo IV.*, lib. ix. § ii. § xvii. (ii. 224, 289.)

whether any pope, who did not actually belong to the imperial party, would have withstood the temptations presented by all these circumstances.

To Paul IV. they were peculiarly strong. He had beheld Italy in the freedom of the fifteenth century, (he was born in 1476,) and his whole soul hung on the remembrance of her glories. He was wont to compare the Italy of that age to a well-tuned instrument, of which Naples, Milan, the States of the Church, and Venice were the four strings; and to curse the memory of Alfonso and Louis the Moor, "wretched and lost souls," as he called them, "whose divisions had disturbed this harmony."* He had never learned to endure with patience the dominion which the Spaniards had subsequently acquired. The house of Caraffa, of which he was sprung, belonged to the French party, and, on numberless occasions, had taken arms against the Castilians and the Catalans; in 1528 it had again attached itself to the French, and during the troubles of 1547, it was Giovan Pietro Caraffa who advised Paul III. to take possession of Naples.

But this party hate was not all. Caraffa had always maintained that Charles V. favoured the protestants out of jealousy of the pope, and ascribed the success of that party to the emperor

* "Infelici quelle anime di Alfonso d'Aragona e Ludovico duca di Milano, che furono li primi che guastarono così nobil instrumento d'Italia." Navagero. (App. No. 30.)

himself.* Charles knew Caraffa well. He once expelled him from the council formed for the administration of Naples; he never allowed him to have tranquil possession of his ecclesiastical offices in Naples, and had moreover sometimes seriously remonstrated against Caraffa's declamations in the consistory. It may easily be imagined that these things excited Paul's bitterest animosity. As Neapolitan and as Italian, as catholic and as pope, he hated the emperor. Excepting his zeal for reform, this hate was his only passion.

Immediately after entering upon the pontificate, he remitted some of the taxes of the Roman people, and caused importations of corn; and it was not without some self-complacency that he saw a statue erected to him for these acts, while, surrounded by a splendid court of Neapolitan nobles, he received the homage of the ambassadors who flocked from every country. Yet even at this very moment he fell into a thousand disputes with the emperor. It was reported that Charles had complained to the cardinals of his party, of the choice that had been made; his adherents held suspicious meetings, and even cut out some vessels, which had formerly been taken from them by the French, from the port of Civita Vecchia.† The pope was soon inflamed with

* Memoriale dato a Annibale Ruccellai, Sept. 1555 (Informatt. Pol., tom. xxiv.): "Chiamava liberamente la M^a S. Cesarea fautore di heretici e di scismatici."

† Istruttioni e Lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del Cl. Caraffa, dove si contiene il principio della rottura della guerra

rage. He arrested his vassals and the cardinals who were inclined to the imperial party ; or they fled, and he confiscated their property. But this did not satisfy him. He entered with little hesitation into that alliance with France which Paul III. had never been able to resolve on concluding. The emperor's plan was, he said, to destroy him by a sort of fever of the mind, but he would decide on open fight ; with the king's help he would free this poor Italy from the tyranny of Spain ; he hoped still to see two French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. He sat for hours over the black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, called mangiaguerra, which was his ordinary drink*, and poured forth torrents of vehement eloquence against these schismatics and heretics, these accursed of God, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth, and whatever other abusive epithets he could find to bestow on the Spaniards.† But he comforted

fra Papa Paolo IV. e l'Imperatore Carlo V., 1555. Also in the *Informatt. Polit.*, xxiv.

* Navagero : “ L'ordine suo è sempre di mangiare due volte il giorno : vuol esser servito molto delicatamente, e nel principio del pontificato 25 piatti non bastavano : beve molto più di quello che mangia : il vino è potente e gagliardo, negro e tanto spesso che si potria quasi tagliare, dimandasi mangiaguerra, che si conduce del regno di Napoli : dopo pasto sempre beve malvagia, che i suoi chiaman lavarsi i denti. Stava a mangiare in pubblico come gli altri pontefici sino all'ultima indispositione, che fu riputata mortale, quando perdette l'appetito : consumava qualche volta tre hore di tempo dal sedere al levarsi da mensa, entrando in vari ragionamenti, secondo l'occasione, et usando molte volte in quel impeto a dir molte cose secrete e d'importanza.” (*App. No. 30.*)

† Navagero : “ Mai parlava di S. M^a e della natione Spagno-

himself with the saying, "Thou shalt walk upon serpents, thou shalt tread upon lions and dragons." The time was now come, he said, when the emperor Charles and his son were to receive the chastisement due to their sins: he, the pope, would inflict it; he would deliver Italy from them. If people would not listen to him, if they would not assist him, at least posterity would be forced to confess that an old Italian on the brink of the grave, who should rather have sought rest and preparation for death, had conceived these lofty designs.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the negotiations which he carried on under the influence of these thoughts. When the French, spite of an understanding they had entered into with him, concluded a truce with Spain*, he despatched to France his nephew Carlo Caraffa, who succeeded in gaining over to his own interests the several

la, che non gli chiamasse eretici, scismatici e maladetti da Dio, seme di Giudei e di Mori, feccia del mondo, deplorando la miseria d' Italia, che fosse astretta a servire gente così abietta e così vile." The despatches of the French ambassadors are full of these outbursts. For instance, deLansac and d'Avançon, in Ribiera, ii. 610—618.

* The account of the incipient incredulity of Caraffa, which appears in Navagero, is very characteristic: "Domandando io al pontefice et al Cl. Caraffa, se havevano avviso alcuno delle tregue [of Vaucelles], si guardarono l' un l' altro ridendo, quasi volessero dire, si come mi disse anche apertamente il pontefice, che questa speranza di tregue era assai debole in lui, e nondimeno venne l' avviso il giorno seguente, il quale si come consolò tutta Roma così diede tanto travaglio e tanta molestia al papa et al cardinale che non lo poterono dissimulare. Diceva il papa che queste tregue sarebbero la ruina del mondo."

parties that were contending for power,—the Montmorencies and the Guises,—the king's wife and mistress,—and in bringing about a fresh outbreak of hostilities.* In Italy he acquired an energetic ally in the duke of Ferrara. Nothing less than a total revolution of Italy was contemplated. Florentine and Neapolitan exiles filled the curia, and their restoration to their country seemed at hand. The pope's fiscal issued a formal act of accusation against emperor Charles and king Philip, in which he threatened to excommunicate those princes, and to free their subjects from their oath of allegiance. In Florence, people always asserted that they were in possession of proofs that the destruction of the house of Medici was also determined on.† Everything assumed a warlike aspect; and the circumstances which seemed hitherto to have combined to form the characteristics of this century were once more thrown into uncertainty and confusion.

What a totally different turn did this pontificate take from that which had been anticipated! Attempts at reform were compelled to give place to preparations for war, which led to results the very opposite of those intended.

The world beheld him who, as cardinal, had been the most zealous in his denunciations of nepotism, even to his own peril, now abandon himself to this abuse. He raised to the rank of cardinal his nephew Carlo Caraffa, who had revelled in

* Rabutin, *Mémoires*: Collect. Univers., vol. xxxviii. 358. Particularly Villars, *Mémoires*, Ib., vol. xxxv. 277.

† Gussoni, *Rel^{ne} di Toscana*.

the wild and licentious life of a soldier*, and of whom Paul himself said, "that his arm was dyed in blood to the elbow." Carlo had found means to cajole the feeble old man; he had contrived to be found by him kneeling before the crucifix in apparent remorse and contrition.† The grand bond of union between them, however, was a common hate. Carlo Caraffa, who had served the emperor in Germany, complained that he had received nothing but slights in return; that a prisoner for whom he expected to receive a large ransom had been taken from him; that he had been prevented from taking possession of a priory of the order of Malta, to which he was nominated:—injuries which filled him with rage and vengeance. These passions were accepted by the pope as compensations for every virtue. He was inexhaustible in his praises; never, he affirmed, had the see of Rome had a more efficient servant: he committed to him the chief conduct, not only of secular, but of spiritual, affairs, and was well pleased that he should be regarded as the author of the favours dispensed by the court.

For a long time the pope did not bestow a single gracious look upon his other nephews, nor was it till they adopted the anti-Spanish feelings of their uncle that he regarded them with complacency.‡ The conduct which he now pursued could

* Babon, in Ribier, ii. 745. Villars, p. 255. † Bromato.

‡ *Extractus processûs Cardinalis Caraffæ*: "Similiter dux Palliani deponit, quod donec se declaravit contra imperiales, papa eum nunquam vidit grato vultu et bono oculo." (App. No. 34.)

never have been anticipated. He said that the castles of the Colonnas, those inveterate rebels against God and the church, had frequently been taken from them, but had never been kept; but that he would now entrust them to vassals who would know how to defend them. He divided them among his nephews, to the elder of whom he gave the title of duke of Palliano, to the younger that of marquis of Montebello. When he disclosed these his intentions to the cardinals, they cast down their eyes and were silent. The Caraffas now gave the reins to their aspiring hopes; according to them, the daughters of their house were to be married, if not into the family of the king of France, at any rate into that of the duke of Ferrara, while the sons were at least to gain possession of Siena. When some one jested concerning the jewelled barett of a child of the house, "This is no time to talk of caps, but of crowns," replied their mother.*

In fact, everything depended on the issue of the war which now broke out, but which certainly assumed no favourable aspect from the very first.

After the above-mentioned act of the fiscal, the duke of Alva had advanced from the Neapolitan territory into that of Rome. He was accompanied by the Roman vassals, who aroused all those with whom they had had an understanding. Nettuno drove away the pope's garrison, and recalled the troops of the Colonnas. Alva invested Frosinone,

* Bromato, ix. 16.; ii. 286: literally, "Non esser quel tempo di parlar di berette, ma di corone."

Anagni, Tivoli on the mountains, Ostia on the sea ; thus inclosing Rome on both sides.

At first the pope trusted entirely to his Romans, whom he reviewed in person. An army consisting of three hundred and forty columns armed with arquebuses, two hundred and fifty with pikes, each nine men deep, of a most warlike appearance, under noble leaders, marched from Campafiore past fort St. Angelo, which saluted them, to the Piazza di San Pietro, where he stood with his nephews at the window, and as the caporioni and standard-bearers passed gave them his blessing.* They made a very gallant show, but they were not the men by whom the city was to be defended. The Spaniards having approached near the walls, a false alarm, a small troop of horsemen, sufficed to throw them all into such confusion that not a man remained by his standard. The pope was constrained to look around for other help. Pietro Strozzi at length brought him the troops that had served before Siena, and with their aid he succeeded in reconquering Tivoli and Ostia, and in averting the imminent danger. But what a war was this !

It seems as if, at certain critical periods, the conduct of men was influenced by motives utterly repugnant to the principles which usually determine their actions.

At first Alva might have conquered Rome without much difficulty, but his uncle cardinal Gia-

* Diario di Cola Calleine Romano del rione di Trastevere dall' anno 1521 sino all' anno 1562. MS. (App. No. 9.)

como reminded him of the bad end to which all had come who had a share in Bourbon's conquest. Alva, like a good catholic, conducted the war with the greatest scrupulousness; while he fought against the pope, he did not cease to reverence him. He sought to wrest the sword out of his hand, but he had no desire to figure in the list of the conquerors of Rome. His troops murmured, and said that it was a vapour, a smoke, against which they were led into the field; that it annoyed them without their being able to grasp it, or to disperse it as soon as it arose.

And who were those who defended the pope against such good catholics?

The most efficient among them were Germans, all of whom were protestants. They mocked at the images of saints in the roads and churches, laughed at the mass, disregarded the fasts, and committed a hundred acts for which the pope would have punished every one of them, under other circumstances, with death.* I even find that Carlo Caraffa formed an intimacy with the great protestant leader, margrave Albert of Brandenburg.

It was impossible for contradictions to be more complete and striking. On the one side, the strict

* Navagero: "Fu riputata la più esercitata gente la Tedesca (3500 fanti,) [other MSS. however give different numbers,] e più atta alla guerra, ma era in tutto luterana. La Guascona era tanto insolente, tanto contro l' onor delle donne et in torre la robba,—gli offesi maledicevano pubblicamente chi era causa di questi disordini." (App. No. 30.)

catholic spirit, by which the leader at least was thoroughly inspired, and which placed him at a distance of ages from the times of Bourbon's ruthless and audacious invasion of the holy city. On the other, the secular tendencies of the papacy, by which Paul IV., however loudly he condemned them, was hurried along. These contrarieties cause the strange anomaly, that those who believe in his authority attack, while those who deny it, defend him; that the former, even in their hostile assaults, preserve their allegiance; and the latter, while serving under his banner, manifest hostility and contempt for his character and station as head of the church.

The war did not begin in earnest till the French allied force, consisting of ten thousand foot and a less numerous but noble body of horse, crossed the Alps. The French would rather have tried their strength against Milan, which they believed to be less strongly defended; but they were obliged to follow the impulse which the Caraffas gave them towards Naples. The latter had no doubt of finding innumerable followers in their own country; they reckoned on the assistance of the exiles, and on the insurrection of their party, if not throughout the kingdom, yet in the Abruzzi, around Aquila and Montorio, where their ancestors, both on the paternal and maternal side, had always possessed great influence.

It was evident that affairs must, in one way or another, come to a crisis.

The hostility of the papal power to the pre-

dominancy of Spain had been too often excited not at last to burst forth.

The pope and his family were resolved upon extreme measures. Caraffa had not only sought help from the protestants, but had proposed to Suleiman I. to desist from his campaign in Hungary, in order that he might turn all his force against the two Sicilies.* He invoked the succour of infidels against the catholic king.

In April 1557, the Roman troops crossed the Neapolitan frontier. They celebrated Holy Thursday by the conquest and ruthless pillage of Compli, which was full of treasure, not only belonging to the place, but also that had been conveyed there for safety. Guise next crossed the Tronto and besieged Civitella.

He, however, found the kingdom in a good state of preparation. Alva well knew that there would be no insurrection against him, so long as he was the most powerful in the country. In a parliament of the barons he had obtained a considerable grant ; queen Bona of Poland, of the ancient family of Arragon, a bitter enemy of the French, who shortly before had arrived with great treasure in her duchy of Bari, gave him half a million of scudi ; he confiscated the ecclesiastical revenues which should have

* His confessions in *Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV.*, vol. ii. p. 369. *Bromato* also contains good accounts of the war. He took them, which he does not conceal, in many cases, word for word from a detailed MS. account of this war by Nores, frequently to be found in Italian libraries.

gone to Rome, and even appropriated to his uses the gold and silver utensils of the churches and the bells of Benevento.* He then proceeded to fortify, as well as he could, all the frontier towns of the Neapolitan territory, and all those of the Roman of which he still maintained possession; he collected a splendid army, composed in the old manner, of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians; he had also formed Neapolitan centuries under the conduct of the nobles. Civitella was gallantly defended by count Santafiore, who had incited the inhabitants to active co-operation, and even to repel an assault.

While the kingdom remained thus firmly compacted, and nothing was perceived but devotion to Philip II., violent differences broke out among the assailants,—between French and Italians,—between Guise and Montebello. Guise complained that the pope did not adhere to the contract made with them, and withheld the succour he had promised. When the duke of Alva with his army made his appearance in the Abruzzi in the middle of May, Guise deemed it best to raise the siege and to retreat across the Tronto. The war was again transferred to the Roman territory;—a war in which the belligerent parties advanced, retreated, in-

* Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxxiii. c. i. Besides Gossellini, Mambrino Roseo, *Delle Historie del Mondo*, lib. vii., whose account of this war is circumstantial and derived from good authorities, ascribes to Ferrante Gonzaga a great share in the well-planned measures taken by Alba. This is confirmed by other writers.

vested cities and then abandoned them, and in which not one serious battle was fought.

Marc Antonio Colonna threatened Palliano, which the pope had wrested from him ; upon which Giulio Orsino made preparations to relieve it with provisions and troops. Three thousand Swiss under the command of a colonel from Unterwalden had just arrived in Rome. The pope had received them with joy, decorated their chiefs with chains of gold and orders of knighthood, and proclaimed them the legion of angels sent by God to his aid. These troops and a few companies of Italian horse and foot were led by Giulio Orsino. M. A. Colonna posted himself in his way, and an engagement followed in the spirit of the Italian wars of 1491–1531 : — papal and imperial troops ; — a Colonna and an Orsino : — while the Swiss were opposed, as they had so often been before, by the German lanzknechts, under their colonels Caspar von Feltz and Hans Walther. Once more did the old antagonists fight for a cause in which neither had an interest, yet they fought with not the less obstinate bravery.* At length Hans Walther, who, as the Spaniards relate, had the stature and the strength of a giant, threw himself into the middle of a Swiss company ; with a pistol in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, he rushed upon the standard-bearer, whom he laid dead at his feet by a shot in the side and a violent cut on the head at

* The particular circumstances of this engagement I take from Cabrera, Don Felipe Segundo, lib. iii. p. 139.

the same minute ; upon this the whole troop bore down upon him, but his lanzknechts had already come up to his defence. The Swiss were totally routed ; their banners, upon which was inscribed, in large letters, “ Defenders of the Faith and of the Holy See,” were trodden in the dust ; and their colonel led back only two out of his eleven captains to Rome. While this little war was carrying on here, the great armies were encamped over against each other on the frontier of the Netherlands. The battle of St. Quintin, in which the Spaniards gained the most decisive victory, followed. The only wonder in France was that they did not march straight on Paris, which they might have conquered.*

“ I hope,” wrote Henry II., on this occasion, to Guise, “ that the pope will do as much for me in my need, as I did for him.”† So little could Paul now reckon on the assistance of the French, that they, on the contrary, needed succour from him. Guise declared, “ that no chains would be strong enough to keep him any longer in Italy,”‡ and hastened back with his troops to his distressed prince.

The inevitable consequence was, that the Spaniards and the followers of Colonna once more marched against Rome. The Romans once more beheld conquest and pillage impending over them ;

* Monluc, Mémoires, p. 116.

† Le Roy à Mons. de Guise, in Ribier, ii. p. 750.

‡ Lettera del Duca di Palliano al Cl. Caraffa, Informatt. Polit. xxii.

and their situation was the more desperate, as they had nearly as much to fear from their defenders as from their enemies. For many nights they kept lights in all their windows and streets; and it is said that a troop of Spanish marauders, who advanced as far as the gates, were frightened back by this appearance; the chief motive for which, however, was, to be prepared against the outrages of the papal soldiers. Nothing was to be heard but murmurs;—people wished the pope dead a thousand times, and demanded that the Spanish army should be admitted by a formal capitulation.

To such a pitch did Paul IV. suffer things to advance. It was not till his enterprise had been thoroughly wrecked, his allies beaten, his states almost entirely occupied by the enemy, and his capital a second time threatened, that he consented to treat for peace.

This the Spaniards concluded in the same spirit in which they had carried on the war. They gave up all the castles and cities of the church, and even promised the Caraffas compensation for Palliano, which they had lost.* Alva came to Rome; with the deepest veneration he kissed the foot of the vanquished and inveterate foe of his nation and his king. He said he had never feared the face of man as he feared that of the pope.

Nevertheless, however advantageous to the papal power this peace may appear, it was fatal to all its

* Palliano became the subject of a secret treaty concluded between Alva and cardinal Caraffa,—a treaty unknown not only to the public, but to the pope himself. Bromato, ii. 385.

projects and all its enterprises. There was an end to all attempts to shake off the Spanish yoke; nor, indeed, has such a project (in the sense in which it had hitherto been understood) been entertained from that time. In Milan and Naples, the dominion of the Spaniards had proved too solid to be shaken. Their allies were stronger than ever. Duke Cosmo, whom his enemies had thought to drive out of Florence, had not only maintained possession of that city, but had annexed Siena to it, and now wielded a considerable independent power; the Farnesi were won over to the cause of Philip II. by the restitution of Piacenza; Marc Antonio Colonna had made himself a great name and had regained the station formerly occupied by his family. Nothing was left to the pope but to acquiesce in this state of things;—to this even Paul must yield:—how hardly, we may well imagine. Somebody once called Philip II. his friend, “Yes,” said he, “my friend, who besieged me, who sought my very soul.” In public, he compared him to the prodigal son in the gospel, but in the circle of his intimate friends, he expressed his admiration of those popes alone who had meditated raising kings of France to the imperial throne.* His mind was unchanged, but he was bound down by circum-

* L’Evesque d’Angoulesme au Roy, 11 Juin, 1558. Ribier, ii. 745. The pope had said, “Que vous, Sire, n’estiez pas pour dégénérer de vos prédécesseurs, qui avoient toujours esté conservateurs et défenseurs de ce saint siège; comme au contraire, que le roy Philippe tenoit de race de le vouloir ruiner et confondre entièrement.”

stances ; he could no longer hope, still less undertake anything ; his very complaints must be secret.

It is, however, utterly vain to struggle against the consequences of an event which is accomplished. After some time a reaction took place even in Paul IV., which it is of the greatest importance to consider, both with reference to his government, and to the general transformation wrought in the nature of the papal power and station.

The nepotism of Paul was not founded on the selfishness or the family partialities of preceding popes ; he favoured his nephews because they supported his designs against Spain ; he regarded them as his natural allies in the struggle. This being at an end, his nephews were useless to him.

An eminent station, especially if it be not a strictly legitimate one, requires the support of success to make it stable. Cardinal Caraffa, prompted mainly by the interest of his house, for which he wished to settle the compensation for Palliano already mentioned, undertook an embassy to king Philip. From the time he returned without having effected anything material, the pope visibly became colder and colder towards him ; and the cardinal soon found that it no longer rested with him to determine who should be about his uncle, or to exclude from the palace all but his own devoted friends. Unfavourable rumours too came to the ears of the pope, and served to revive the disagreeable impressions of former days. The cardinal once fell sick, and the pope paying him an unexpected visit, found

two men of the worst reputation with him. "Old people are mistrustful," said he, "and I perceived things there which opened a wide field for my suspicions." We see that nothing was wanted but an occasion to excite a storm in his mind, and such an one was afforded by an incident otherwise insignificant. On new year's night, 1559, a tumult arose in the streets, in which the young cardinal Monte, whom we have already mentioned as the favourite of Julius III., drew his sword. The pope heard this early in the morning, and was profoundly vexed that his nephew said not a word to him about it; after waiting a few days, he at length expressed his displeasure. The court, ever greedy of change, seized upon this symptom of disgrace with avidity. The Florentine ambassador, who had received a thousand affronts from the Caraffas, now forced his way to the presence of the pope, and broke out into the bitterest complaints. The marchesa della Valle, a kinswoman, one of those who had never been allowed free access to him, found means to get a paper placed in his breviary, on which some of his nephews' misdeeds were recorded; and in which it was intimated that if his holiness wished for further explanations, he would be pleased to subscribe his name to it. Paul signed, and there was no want of explanations.

In this frame of mind, already filled with disgust and indignation, the pope repaired to the meeting of the inquisition on the 9th of January. He spoke of that nocturnal broil, rebuked cardinal Monte in violent terms, threatened him with punishment,

and thundered out again and again, "Reform, reform!" The cardinals, generally so silent, had now gained courage to speak:—"Holy father," interrupted cardinal Pacheco, "we must begin the reform among ourselves." The pope made no reply. The words struck him to the heart; they turned to certainty the convictions which had been fermenting and acquiring form and consistency in his mind. He left the affair of Monte unfinished, returned to his sitting-room in the utmost exasperation, and absorbed in the thoughts of his nephews. After giving immediate directions that no further order given by cardinal Caraffa should be executed, he sent to demand his papers; cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli, who had the reputation of being privy to all the secrets of the Caraffas, was compelled to swear that he would reveal everything he knew; Camillo Orsino was summoned for the same purpose from his country-house: the rigid party, who had long seen with indignation the proceedings of the nephews, now raised its voice; the old Theatine, Don Gieremia, who was regarded as a saint, passed hours in the papal apartments, and the pope learned things he had never dreamt of, which excited his horror and detestation. His agitation was extreme; he could neither eat nor sleep, and for ten days was ill of a fever. An event now occurred, for ever memorable;—a pope, by a sort of self-violence, emancipated himself from all partiality to his kindred. At length he was resolved. On the 27th of January he summoned a consistory, described with passionate agitation the bad lives of his nephews, and called God

and man to witness, that he had known nothing of it,—that he had been constantly deceived. He dismissed them from their posts, and banished them with their families to remote places. The mother of the nephews, seventy years old, bent with infirmity and personally blameless, threw herself at his feet as he was going into the palace; he passed her with harsh words. At the same time the young marchesa Montebello came from Naples; she found her palace closed; no inn would receive her; in the rainy night she drove from door to door, till at length an innkeeper, living in a remote spot which no order had reached, gave her shelter.

Vainly did cardinal Caraffa offer to go to prison and to render an account of his conduct. The Swiss guard received orders to turn back from the palace not only himself, but all who had been in his service. The pope made only one exception. He kept about him, as assistant in his devotional exercises, the son of Montorio, whom he loved, and whom he had made cardinal in his eighteenth year. But never did the young man venture to mention those who were banished from the court, much less to make any intercession for them; he dared not hold any intercourse even with his father. The ruin that had fallen upon his house affected him only the more deeply; the grief that he was not allowed to express in words imprinted itself on his countenance and whole person.*

* In Pallavicini, but above all, in Bromato, we find satisfactory disclosures on this head. In the Berlin Informationi, there is also, vol. viii., a “*Diario d’alcune attioni più notabili nel Pon-*

Would it not be thought that events like these must necessarily react on the mind of the pope? Yet he was as if nothing had happened. Hardly had he, with vehement and indignant eloquence, pronounced sentence in the consistory, while most of the cardinals were still transfixed with amazement and fear, when he appeared to feel nothing, and passed immediately to other business.

The foreign ambassadors were astonished at his demeanor. "In the midst of such sudden and complete changes," says one, "surrounded by new ministers and servants, he maintains a firm, unbending, unconcerned attitude; he feels no pity; he appears to retain no memory whatever of his kindred."

He now gave himself up to an entirely different passion; a change in his character and views which led to the most important results. The hatred of the Spaniards, and the idea of becoming the liberator of Italy, had hurried even Paul IV. into political schemes; had led him to endow his nephews with the lands of the church, to raise a soldier to the administration of spiritual affairs, and had plunged him into hostilities and bloodshed. Events had forced him to renounce this idea, to suppress this hatred; they had also gradually opened his eyes to the disgraceful conduct of his relations, on whom, after a violent inward struggle, he had done inex-

tificato di Paolo IV., l'anno 1558, sino alla sua morte," (beginning from the 10th September, 1558,) unknown to both of these two writers. It is compiled by an eye-witness of the events it narrates, and has afforded me information entirely new.

orable justice: from the hour he had shaken them off for ever, he returned to his old plans of reform, and began to reign as was at first expected of him. With the same passion with which he had hitherto carried on hostilities and war, he now set about the reform of the state, and still more that of the church.

The secular affairs, from the highest to the lowest, were entrusted to new hands. The actual *podestàs* and governors were dismissed from their places, and sometimes in a most extraordinary manner. In Perugia the new governor made his appearance at night; without waiting for daylight he summoned the *Anziani*, produced his credentials, and commanded them instantly to take prisoner their former governor, who was present.

Paul IV. was the first pope, from time immemorial, who had governed without nepotism. The places of his nephews were occupied by cardinal Carpi and cardinal Camillo Orsino, who had possessed so much influence under Paul III. The whole character and conduct of the government was altered, together with the persons who administered it. Considerable sums were saved, and taxes consequently remitted; a chest was fixed in a public place into which every man could throw a statement of grievances, and of which the pope alone kept the key; the governor made a daily report, and public business generally was conducted with greater care and prudence, and without the old abuses.

Even in the midst of the troubles which agitated the earlier part of his reign, the pope had never lost sight of the reform of the church; he now

devoted himself to it with more ardent zeal and a freer heart. He introduced a more rigid discipline into the churches ; forbade all begging, even the collection of alms for masses by the clergy ; and removed all indecorous and disgusting pictures. A medal of him was struck, on the reverse of which was represented Christ purifying the temple and driving out the money-changers. He drove the intruding monks out of the city and the state, and compelled the court to keep the regular fasts, and to solemnize Easter by receiving the Lord's Supper. The cardinals were even compelled to preach occasionally. Paul himself preached. He tried to abolish many abuses which were sources of profit ; for example, he would hear nothing of marriage dispensations, or of the revenue they brought to the treasury.

Numerous places, which had hitherto been invariably sold, even the *chiericati di Camera**, he would no longer allow to be given on any other ground than that of merit ; much more was he determined by worth of character and by the sentiments befitting an ecclesiastic, in the bestowment of spiritual offices. Those compromises, hitherto customary, by which one man performed the duties of a benefice, while another enjoyed the greater share of its emoluments, he would no longer tolerate. He likewise cherished the project of restoring to the bishops many of the rights of

* Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV., MS., makes particular mention of them. The pope said : " Che simili officii d' amministrazione e di giustitia conveniva che si dassero a persone che li facessero, e non venderli a chi avesse occasion di volerne cavare il suo danaro."

which they had been deprived, and strongly censured the rapacity with which every thing productive of power or profit had been drawn to Rome.*

Nor was he content to take up a negative position,—to remain a mere destroyer and abolisher of abuses ; he sought to surround divine worship with greater pomp ; the decorations of the Sixtine chapel and the solemn representation of the Holy Sepulchre are to be ascribed to him.† The ideal of the service of the catholic church of later times, full of dignity, devotion, and magnificence, constantly floated before his eyes.

He boasted that he suffered not a day to pass without the publication of an ordinance tending to the restoration of the church to its original purity. In many of his decrees we discover the fundamental outlines of the regulations to which the council of Trent soon afterwards gave its sanction.‡

As might be expected, he displayed, in his present course, as he had done in the former, all the inflexibility with which he was endowed by nature. He favoured, above all other institutions,

* Bromato, ii. 483.

† Mocenigo, Relatione di 1560 : “ Nelli officii divini poi e nelle ceremonie procedeva questo pontefice con tanta gravità e devotione che veramente pareva degnissimo vicario de Gesu Christo. Nelle cose poi della religione si prendeva tanto pensiero et usava tanta diligentia che maggior non si poteva desiderare.” (App. No. 31.)

‡ Mocenigo : “ Papa Paolo IV. andava continuamente facendo qualche nova determinatione e riforma, e sempre diceva preparare altre, acciò che restasse manco occasione e menor necessità di far concilio.”

the inquisition, which indeed he had himself re-established. He often let the days pass by which were set apart for the *segnatura* and the consistory; but he never missed the meetings of the congregation of the inquisition, which took place every Thursday. He wished its powers to be exercised in the severest manner, subjected offences of new classes to its jurisdiction, and conferred upon it the inhuman right of employing torture for the discovery of accomplices: he allowed of no respect of persons; the noblest barons were dragged before this tribunal; and cardinals, like Morone and Foscherari, who had formerly been employed to examine the contents of remarkable books, such as Loyola's "Spiritual Exercises," he now caused to be thrown into prison, because some doubts had arisen of the soundness of their faith. He established the festival of San Domenico in honour of the great inquisitor.

Religious severity, and zeal for the restoration of the church, thus became the predominant characteristics of the papacy.

Paul IV. seemed almost to have forgotten that he had ever cherished any other views; the memory of the past seemed obliterated from his mind. He lived and moved in his reforms and his inquisition; made laws, imprisoned, excommunicated, and held autos da fé. When at length a sickness, such as would have occasioned the death of a younger man, laid him prostrate, he called together the cardinals, once more commended his soul to their prayers,—the holy see and the inquisition,

to their care ; once more he endeavoured to collect his strength and to rise, but in vain,—he sank back and expired (18th August 1559).

Herein, at least, are such resolute, passionate men happier than those of feebler character ;—they are, indeed, blinded by the violence of their feelings and prejudices, but the same qualities render them inflexible, callous, and invincible.

The people, however, did not forget so quickly as the pope what they had suffered under him. They could not forgive him the war he had brought upon Rome ; nor was the dismissal of his nephews sufficient to satisfy the hatred of the multitude. At his death some assembled around the capitol and resolved, that as he had deserved ill of the city and of the world, they would destroy his monuments. Others plundered the buildings of the inquisition, set fire to them, and maltreated the servants of the sacred office. They also tried to burn the Dominican convent della Minerva. The Colonnas, Orsini, Cesarini, Massimi, all mortally offended by Paul IV., took part in these tumults. The statues which had been erected to the pope were torn from their pedestals, broken, and the heads, surmounted with the triple crown, dragged through the streets.*

* Mocenigo : “ Viddi il popolo correr in furia verso la casa di Ripetta deputata per le cose dell’ inquisitione, metter a sacco tutta la robba ch’ era dentro, sì di vittualie come d’ altra robba, che la maggior parte era del Rev^{mo}. Cl. Alessandrino sommo inquisitore, trattar male con bastonate e ferite tutti i ministri dell’ inquisitione, levar le scritture gettandole a refuso per la

Happy had it been for the papacy, however, had this been the only reaction against the projects and the deeds of Paul IV.

§ 5. REMARKS ON THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM
DURING THIS REIGN.

WE have seen how the breach between the papacy and the imperial or Spanish power contributed, (perhaps more than any other external cause,) to the establishment of protestantism in Germany. Nevertheless, another error had not been avoided, which now produced still vaster and more comprehensive results.

We may date its commencement from the recall of the papal troops from the imperial army, and the transfer of the council to Bologna. The importance of these measures soon appeared. Nothing was so potent an obstacle to the subjugation of the protestants as the conduct of Paul III. at that moment.

But it was not till after the death of that pope that the wide-spreading and permanent consequences of his measures were seen. The connexion with France, into which he led his nephews, gave rise to a universal war,—a war wherein not only the German protestants won that immortal victory

strada, e finalmente poner foco in quella casa. I frati di S. Domenico erano in tant' odio a quel popolo che in ogni modo volevan abbruciar il monastero della Minerva." He then asserts, that the nobles were most to blame in the affair. Similar tumults had likewise taken place in Perugia.

which freed them for ever from the bonds of council, emperor, or pope, but in which the immediate contact with the German soldiers who fought on both sides, and the universal disorder which rendered impossible any vigilant precautions, powerfully favoured the progress of the new opinions in France and the Netherlands.

Paul IV. ascended the papal throne. He ought to have taken a clear view of the present course of events, and to have made it his first and most urgent care to restore peace. Instead of this, he plunged with all the blindness of passion into the strife; and thus it was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted.

Let us only call to mind his influence on England. The first victory of the new opinions in that country was far from being complete; there needed only a retrocession on the part of the sovereign, there needed only a catholic queen, to determine the parliament to place the church once more in subjection to the pope. It was, however, necessary for the latter to proceed with moderation, for he could not make the events which had recently been occasioned by religious innovations a ground of war. This, Julius III. clearly perceived. The first papal legate immediately remarked *

* *Lettere di Mr. Henrico*, Nov., 1553: in a MS., entitled "*Lettere e Negotiati di Polo*," which contains a great deal of matter important to this history. See Pallavicini on this transaction, xiii. 9. 411.

how powerful were the interests created by the confiscation of church property. Julius formed the magnanimous determination not to insist on its restitution. In fact the legate was not allowed to set foot in England till he had given satisfactory assurances on this head. They formed the basis of all his subsequent influence*, and were the causes of his eminent success. This legate was Reginald Pole, with whom we are already acquainted;—of all living men the most peculiarly fitted for the task of re-establishing catholicism in England; elevated above all suspicion of sordid or impure views; intelligent, moderate, entitled by his native birth and high rank to the consideration of queen, nobility, and people. The undertaking prospered beyond all expectation. The accession of Paul IV. was marked by the arrival of English ambassadors, who assured him of the obedience of that country.

Paul, therefore, had not to win, he had only to preserve the allegiance of England. Let us examine what were the measures he adopted for that purpose.

He proclaimed the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence.† But, inde-

* He did not hesitate to acknowledge the right of the actual possessors. *Litteræ Dispensatoriæ C^{lis}. Poli. Concilia M. Britanniae*, iv. 112.

† These ideas wholly occupied his mind and influenced his actions. He published his bull *Rescissio Alienationum* (Bul-

pendently of these ill-advised acts, could anything be worse adapted to the accomplishment of the reduction of the nation to his authority, than his passionate hostility to Philip II. of Spain, who was also king of England? Englishmen were engaged in the battle of St. Quintin,—that battle which had such disastrous consequences for Italy. Lastly, he persecuted cardinal Pole, whom he could not endure; stripped him of the rank and dignity of a legate, which no one had ever employed more to the advantage of the holy see, and appointed in his place an unskilful monk, bent with years, but violent in his prejudices.* Had it been Paul's object to obstruct the work of restoration, he could not have chosen more effectual means. It was, therefore, no wonder, that after the early and unexpected death of the queen and of the legate, the antagonist tendencies broke forth with fresh violence. The persecutions which Pole condemned, but which his bigoted opponents approved and encouraged, contributed not a little to this result.

The question was then submitted to the pope. It required the more mature deliberation, since it unquestionably included Scotland. In that country two religious parties were engaged in fierce feuds with each other; and the final decision of things in England must determine the fate of Scotland also. It was, therefore, a fact of great importance to the catholic cause, that Elizabeth, at the beginning of

larium, iv. 4, 319.), in which he annulled, without exception, all alienations of the old ecclesiastical possessions.

* Godwin's *Annales Angliæ*, etc., p. 456.

her reign, by no means showed herself decidedly protestant* ; as a proof of which, she had caused her accession to be notified to the pope. Negotiations were actually set on foot for a marriage between her and Philip II., which at that time appeared very probable.

It might have been imagined that nothing could be more desirable to the pope than this event. But prudence and moderation were not in Paul's nature. He gave a repulsive, contemptuous answer to Elizabeth's ambassador: "In the first place," said he, "she must submit all her claims to our decision."

It must not be believed that the dignity and importance of the apostolic see formed his sole motive to this arrogant language. He had others. The French wished, from national jealousy, to prevent this marriage, and they found means to employ the pious Theatines to represent to the aged pope that Elizabeth was still a protestant at heart, and that such an alliance could end in nothing good.† The Guises had the strongest interest in this intrigue. If Elizabeth's claims to the crown were rejected by the holy see, their sister's daughter, Mary Stuart, dauphiness of France and queen of Scotland, was next heiress to the throne of England, and the Guises might hope to rule the three kingdoms in her name. And, in fact, that princess assumed the arms of England, subscribed her edicts with the

* Nares also, in his *Memoirs of Burleigh*, ii. p. 43, deems her religious principles "at first liable to some doubts."

† Private narrative of Thuanus.

year of her reign over England and Ireland, and set on foot warlike preparations in the ports of Scotland.*

Even if Elizabeth's own inclinations had not led her to embrace the opinions of the protestants, she would have been compelled by circumstances to throw herself into the arms of that party. She did so in the most determined manner; and succeeded in assembling a parliament with a protestant majority†, by which all the changes constituting the essential character of the English church were in a few months effected.

Scotland necessarily felt the influence of this turn of affairs. The progress of the catholic French party was opposed by a national protestant one, with which Elizabeth hastened to ally herself; what is more strange, the Spanish ambassador exhorted her to this measure.‡ The treaty of Berwick, which she concluded with the Scottish opposition, threw the preponderancy into their scale. Even before Mary Stuart set foot in her kingdom, she was not only compelled to renounce her title to the throne of England, but to ratify the acts of a parliament assembled in a protestant spirit;—acts, by one of which, the performance of the mass was prohibited under pain of death.

* In Forbes's Transactions, p. 402, there is a *Responsio ad Petitiones D. Glasion et Episc. Aquilani*, by Cecil, which displays all these motives in the most lively manner.

† Neal, History of the Puritans, i. 126: "The court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success."

‡ Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum Annales*, p. 37.

Thus it was, in great measure, a reaction against the French claims backed by the pope, which for ever secured the triumph of protestantism in Great Britain.

Not that the inward impulses of those inclined to the new opinions depended in any degree on these political movements; they had a far deeper source; but the crises which produced the outbreak, progress, and termination of the struggle, generally coincided precisely with the political changes.

A measure of Paul's had, on one occasion, great influence over Germany. His old antipathy to the house of Austria had led him to oppose the transfer of the imperial crown, which compelled Ferdinand I. to cultivate the friendship of the protestant allies more sedulously than heretofore. From that time there was an union of the moderate princes of both sides, who put themselves at the head of all Germany, and under whose influence the ecclesiastical foundations of Lower Germany were transferred into the hands of protestant administrations.

It seemed as if the papacy was destined to experience no reverse, which it had not contributed, in some way or other, to bring about by its interference in political affairs.

If at this moment we survey the world from the heights of Rome, how enormous were the losses which the catholic confession had sustained! Scandinavia and Britain totally severed; Germany almost entirely protestant; Poland and Hungary in a state of violent fermentation; Geneva, a focus

of heresy, as important to the west and to the nations of Roman descent, as Wittenberg to the east, and to those of Germanic race; even in France and the Netherlands, a party rallying round the banner of protestantism.

One hope only remained to the catholic faith. In Spain and Italy the first movements of dissent had been stifled and suppressed, and a strict ecclesiastical spirit of restoration had arisen. However injurious in other respects was the policy of Paul IV., it had, at least, given power and weight to this spirit in the court and the palace. The question was, whether it could permanently maintain itself there, and whether it would then have power once more to pervade and to unite the catholic world.

§ 6. PIUS IV.

It is related, that once at a dinner of cardinals, Alessandro Farnese gave a garland to a boy who was entertaining them with improvisation to the lyre, and told him to present it to the one among them who should be pope hereafter. The boy, Silvio Antoniano, afterwards a distinguished man, and himself a cardinal, immediately went up to Giovan-Angelo Medici, and, reciting his praises, gave him the wreath. This Medici was Paul's successor, Pius IV.*

* Nicius Erythræus relates this anecdote in the article upon Antoniano, *Pinacotheca*, p. 37. Mazzuchelli also repeats it. The election took place on the 26th of December 1559.

His birth was mean. His father Bernardino had settled originally at Milan, and had acquired a small estate there by farming the taxes.* The sons, however, were obliged to subsist as they could; the one, Giangiacomo, who took up the profession of arms, at first entered the service of a nobleman; the other, of whom we are about to speak, Gianangelo, devoted himself to study, but in very narrow circumstances. Their fortune had the following origin: Giangiacomo, bold and unscrupulous by nature, hired himself to the men at the head of the government of Milan, to dispatch one of their opponents of the Visconti family, called Monsignorino. Scarcely, however, was the murder perpetrated, when those who had plotted it, wished to get rid of their tool as well as of their victim, and sent the young man to a castle called Mus on the lake of Como, with a letter to the castellan, desiring him to put to death the bearer. Giangiacomo conceiving some suspicion, opened the letter, saw what awaited him, and instantly took his resolution.

He collected a few trusty companions, gained entrance to the castle by means of the letter, and succeeded in getting possession of it. From that time he assumed the character of an independent prince. He harassed the Milanese, Swiss, and Venetians

* Hieronymo Soranzo, *Relatione di Roma*: "Bernardino, padre della B. S., fu stimata persona di somma bontà e di gran industria, ancora che fusse nato in povero e basso stato: nondimeno venuto habitar a Milano si diede a pigliar datii in affitto." (App. No. 35.)

incessantly from this strong fortress; at last he took the white cross and entered the imperial service. He was created marchese di Marignano, served as commander of the artillery in the war against the Lutherans, and led the imperial army before Siena.* His prudence was equal to his boldness; he was successful in all his enterprises, and wholly without pity. Many were the peasants seeking to convey provisions into Siena, whom he killed with a blow of his iron staff: there was not a tree far or near on which he had not caused some to be hanged; it was reckoned that he had put to death five thousand men. He conquered Siena, and founded a considerable house.

The rise of Giangiacomo had been accompanied by that of his brother Gianangelo. He took the degree of doctor, and acquired reputation as a jurist; he then bought a place at Rome, where he speedily gained the confidence of Paul III., and, when his brother the marchese married an Orsina, (the sister of Pier Luigi Farnese's wife,) he was made a cardinal.† From that time, we find him charged with the administration of papal cities, the

* Ripamonte, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*. Natalis Comes Hist.

† Soranzo: "Nato 1499, si dottorò 1525, vivendo in studio così strettamente che il Pasqua suo medico, che stava con lui a dozena, l'accommodò un gran tempo del suo servitore e di qualche altra cosa necessaria. Del 1527 comprò un protonotariato. Servendo il Cl. Farnese [Ripamonte himself makes mention of his good understanding with Paul III.] colla più assidua diligenza, s'andò mettendo in anzi: ebbe diversi impieghi, dove acquistò nome di persona integra e giusta e di natura officiosa."

conduct of political negotiations, and more than once with the commissariat of papal armies.

He was clever, discreet, and good-natured. Paul IV., however, could not endure him, and once made a violent attack upon him in the consistory, on which account Medici thought it most expedient to leave Rome. He lived sometimes at the baths of Pisa, and sometimes in Milan, which he adorned with numerous buildings; he beguiled his exile by literary occupations, and by a splendid beneficence which procured for him the name of the Father of the Poor. Perhaps the complete contrast which he afforded to Paul IV. contributed mainly to his election. This contrast was unusually striking.

Paul IV. was a high-born Neapolitan of the anti-Austrian faction, a zealot, a monk, and an inquisitor: Pius IV., a Milanese adventurer, through his brother, and through some other German relations, closely connected with the house of Austria, a jurist, of a free and worldly disposition. Paul IV. had held himself at an unapproachable distance; in the commonest business he would display his state and dignity: Pius was all good-humour and condescension. Every day he was seen in the streets on horseback or on foot almost without attendants; he talked freely and affably with every one.

The Venetian despatches bring us perfectly ac-

The marriage of the marquis followed, "*con promessa di far lui cardinale.*"

quainted with him.* The ambassadors find him writing and transacting business in a large, cool room; he rises and walks up and down with them;—or he is going to the Belvedere; he sits down without laying the stick out of his hand, instantly listens to their communications, and then proceeds on his way in their company. But if he treated them with confidence and familiarity, he chose to be treated with politeness and respect in return. The clever expedients which the Venetians sometimes propose to him, amuse him, and draw from him smiles and praises; while, in spite of his fidelity to the Austrian cause, he is annoyed by the inflexible, domineering manners of the Spanish envoy, Parga. He dislikes details, which soon tire him, but so long as people keep to what is general and important, they always find him in good humour and easy to deal with. Then he pours forth a thousand cordial protestations,—how he hates bad men with all his heart,—is by nature a lover of justice,—would infringe no man's liberty,—would show kindness and friendliness to all;—especially, however, intends to labour with all his might for the church. He hoped in God he might accomplish some good.

These descriptions bring him before us in all the truth and vividness of life; a portly old man, yet still active enough to repair before sunrise to his country-house with a gay countenance and cheerful eye; deriving his chief pleasures from conversation,

* Ragguagli dell' Ambasciatore Veneto da Roma, 1561. By Marco Antonio Amulio (Mula), *Informatt. Polit.* xxxvii, (App. No. 33.)

the table, and convivial diversion ; when recovered from a sickness which had been considered dangerous, he mounted his horse immediately, rode to a house where he had lived when cardinal, stepped vigorously up and down the stairs,—“ No, no,” said he, “ we are not going to die yet.”

But was such a pope, of so jovial and worldly a temper, formed to govern the church in the critical situation in which it was then placed ? Was there not reason to fear that he would deviate from the course so lately entered upon by his predecessor ? I will not undertake to deny that his nature inclined him to totally different measures ; yet no change did in fact take place.

He was, in his heart, no friend to the inquisition ; he blamed the monkish severity of its proceedings, and seldom or never visited the congregation,—but he ventured not to attack them ; he declared that he knew nothing about the matter,—that he was no theologian ; he left it in possession of all the power it had acquired under Paul IV.*

He made a fearful example of the nephews of that pope. The excesses committed by the duke of Palliano, even after his fall, (among other atrocities, the murder of his wife in a fit of jealousy) gave the enemies of the Caraffas, who thirsted for

* Soranzo : “ Se bene si conobbe, non esser di sua satisfactione il modo che tengono gl' inquisitori di procedere per l'ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl' inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più li piacerebbe che usassero termini da cortese gentiluomo che da frate severo, non di meno non ardisce o non vuole mai oppondersi ai giudicii loro.”

vengeance, an easy advantage. A criminal process was instituted against them, during which they were accused of the most revolting crimes, robberies, forgeries, murders, combined with the most arbitrary exercise of power, and a system of constant deception practised upon the aged Paul. We are in possession of their defence, which is not without a semblance of justification.* But their accusers prevailed. After the pope had caused the documents to be read to him in the consistory one day, from early morning till late in the evening, he passed sentence of death upon them, viz. the cardinal, the duke of Palliano, and two of their nearest relations, count Aliffe and Leonardo di Cardine. Montebello and some others had escaped. The cardinal perhaps expected banishment, but certainly not death. His sentence was announced to him in the morning before he was up, and when no doubt was left him, he hid his face in the bed-clothes; then, raising himself up, he clasped his hands and uttered those words which are so often the last expression of despair from the lips of an Italian, — “Bene, pazienza.” He was not permitted to have his usual confessor. He had, as may be imagined, much to say to the one they sent

* Detailed accounts of these events, principally taken from Nores, are to be found in Bromato. In the Informatt. we likewise find the letters of Mula, e.g. 19th of July 1560; the *Extractus Processus Cardinalis Caraffæ*; and *El successo de la muerte de los Carafas, con la declaracion y el modo que murieron. La Morte de Cl. Caraffa*, (Library at Venice, vi. n. 39,) is the MS. which Bromato had before him, in addition to that of Nores. (App. Nos. 33, 34.)

him, and his confession lasted rather long. "Monsignore," said the officer of police, "you must have done, we have other business in hand."

Thus perished the kinsmen of Paul IV. They were the last who aimed at independent principalities on the ground of consanguinity with the pontiff, and who brought about great and general movements for the sake of their own political projects. Since Sixtus IV., we have seen Geronimo Riario, Cesare Borgia, Lorenzo Medici, Pier-Luigi Farnese;—the Caraffas close the list. In later times, nepotism showed itself again, but in a totally different form. That in which it had hitherto appeared was extinct.

It was manifestly impossible that after so terrible an execution, Pius IV. could entertain a thought of conferring on his own family a power like that which he had visited so inexorably on the Caraffas. Besides, his lively, active temper inclined him to keep the reins of government in his own hands; he decided no important business without hearing and weighing the whole matter himself; he was reproached rather with relying too little than too much on foreign aid. It is also to be remembered that one of his nephews, whom he might have wished to promote, Federico Borromeo, died young. The other, Carlo Borromeo, was no man for worldly aggrandisement. He would never have accepted it. He regarded the position in which he stood with relation to the pope, and the connexion in which it placed him with the most important

affairs, not as conferring on him a right to any advantage or to any indulgence, but as imposing a duty to which he was bound to devote his utmost care. This he did with equal modesty and perseverance; he was unwearied in giving audience; he attended with the greatest solicitude to the administration of the state, to which end he called around him a collegium of eight doctors, (out of which grew the important institution of the *consulta*,) and after hearing their opinions, he delivered his own to the pope. His life was such that we cannot wonder if after death he was revered as a saint; even at the time we are speaking of, his whole conduct was equally noble and blameless. "So far as is known," says Geronimo Soranzo, "he is pure from all spot or stain; he lives so religiously and sets so good an example, that he leaves even the best men nothing to desire. It is his greatest praise that, in the prime of his life, nephew of a pope, and in the full enjoyment of his favour, in a court where every kind of pleasure is at his disposal, he lives so exemplary a life." His recreation was to assemble a few learned men about him in an evening. The conversation began with profane literature, but from Epictetus and the Stoics, whom Borromeo, then young, did not despise, it soon turned upon theological questions, which even in his leisure hours were uppermost in his mind.* If any fault could be found with him, it was for no deficiency of purity of intention, or of industry, but in some degree,

* Viz., the *Noctes Vaticanæ*, mentioned by Glussianus, *Vita Caroli Borromæi*, i. iv. 22.

of talent ; while his servants complained that they were obliged to forego those rich proofs of favour which in former times had been showered upon all who followed in the train of nepotism.

Thus did the qualities of the nephew supply whatever defects severer judges might find in the uncle. At all events, things went on in the same track ; spiritual and temporal affairs were conducted with zeal and with regard to the interests of the church, and the work of reform advanced. The pope publicly admonished the bishops to reside in their dioceses, and some were seen immediately to kiss his foot and take their leave. When once the prevalent ideas of an age have gained the upper hand, their force is irresistible. The tendency towards severity of ecclesiastical manners and opinions had become omnipotent in Rome, and not even the pope could deviate from it.

But if the somewhat worldly character of this pontiff had not sufficient influence to check the revival of a strictly religious spirit, we may remark that, on the other hand, it contributed in an incalculable degree to the healing of the divisions which had arisen in the catholic world.

Paul IV. imagined that it was the vocation of a pope to rule over emperors and kings,—an idea which plunged him into continual wars and animosities. Pius saw this error the more clearly, inasmuch as it was committed by an immediate predecessor, with whom too he felt that he stood in complete contrast. “ It was thus we lost England,” exclaimed he, “ which we might have retained still,

if cardinal Pole had been better supported ; it was thus also that Scotland has been wrested from us ; and that during the war which sentiments like these excited, the German doctrines have penetrated into France."

He, on the contrary, desired peace above all things. Even a war with the protestants he disliked ; when the ambassador from Savoy solicited him to support an attack on Geneva, he repeatedly interrupted him, exclaiming, "What sort of times are these, then, for making such a proposition ? I want nothing so much as peace."*

He wished to stand well with everybody. He dispensed his ecclesiastical favours readily, and when he was forced to refuse anything, did it with address and modesty. He did not hesitate to avow his persuasion that the power of the pope could no longer sustain itself unsupported by the authority of temporal sovereigns.

The latter part of the reign of Paul IV. was distinguished by the universal demand once more made by the catholic world for a council. It is certain that Pius IV. would have found the greatest difficulty in evading this demand. He could no longer urge the pretext of war as his predecessors had done, for all Europe was at length at peace. It

* Mula, 14 Feb. 1561. Pius begged him to say : "Che havemo animo di stare in pace, e che non sapemo niente di questi pensieri del duca di Savoia, e ci meravigliamo che vada cercando queste cose : non è tempo da fare l'impresa di Ginevra nè da far generali. Scrivete che siamo constanti in questa opinione di star in pace."

was even imperatively required by his own interests, for the French threatened to convene a national council which might easily have led to a schism. In truth however it appears to me that, independently of these considerations, his own wishes leaned most strongly that way. We have only to listen to his own expressions: "We wish for a council," says he; "we certainly desire that it should be held, and that it should be universal. If we were averse to it, we might amuse the world for years with difficulties, but, on the contrary, we seek to remove all such. It shall reform what wants to be reformed, even in our own person and in our own affairs. If we have any thought in our minds but that of serving God, may God's chastisement light upon us." It often appeared to him that he was not duly supported by the princes in an undertaking of such magnitude and importance. One morning the Venetian ambassador found him in bed, lame of the gout, and full of these thoughts. "We have good intentions," said he, "but we are alone." "I was struck with pity," says the ambassador, "at seeing him in bed, and hearing him say, 'We are alone, to support so great a burthen.'"

He, however, commenced operations. On the 18th of January 1562 a sufficient number of bishops and delegates were collected in Trent to render it possible a third time to begin the twice-interrupted council. The pope took the most lively interest in its proceedings. "Certainly," says Girolamo Soranzo, who on other points is no partisan of

Pius, "his holiness has shown all the zeal in this matter which could be expected from so exalted a shepherd. He has neglected nothing that could conduce to so holy and so necessary a work."

§ 7. LATER SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

THE state of the world was entirely altered since the first convocation of this council. The pope had now no longer to fear that a powerful emperor would make use of it as an instrument to obtain dominion over the see of Rome. Ferdinand I. was totally without influence in Italy. Neither was there any further need for anxiety as to serious errors on essential points of the catholic faith.* It was now, though not yet perfectly developed, dominant over the greater part of the catholic world, in the form given to it at the first sittings of the council. The project of reuniting the protestants to the church could no longer be seriously entertained; in Germany they had taken up a position too strong to be attacked; in the north the spirit of their church had infused itself even into the government; in England the same process had already begun. While the pope declared that

* This was the opinion of Ferdinand I. *Litteræ ad Legatos*, 12 Aug. 1562, in *Le Plat, Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Tridentini*, v. p. 452: "Quid enim attinet—disquirere de his dogmatibus, de quibus apud omnes non solum principes verum etiam privatos homines catholicos nulla nunc penitus existit disceptatio?"

the new council was merely a continuation of the former ones, and at last silenced those who opposed the measure, he himself abandoned all hope that the event would prove this assertion to be true. For how could it be expected that the free protestants would join in a council by whose former decrees the most important articles of their faith had been condemned? * Hence the influence of the council was at the very outset limited to the extremely narrowed circle of catholic nations. Its efforts were thus confined principally to the following points:—to arrange the differences which had arisen between the catholic powers and the head of the church; distinctly to settle the rule of faith on some still uncertain points; and, above all, to complete the internal reform which was already begun, and to lay down rules of discipline possessing universal authority.

But even this attempt was full of difficulty, and the most violent disputes soon arose amongst the assembled fathers.

The Spaniards proposed the question, whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses was by divine command, or merely human appointment. This, indeed, might seem an idle discussion, as, by

* The principal ground urged in the protest of the reformers: *Causæ cur Electores Principes alique Augustanæ confessioni adjuncti status recusent adire concilium*: Le Plat, iv. p. 57. They remark, in the first declaration, upon the important words: “*Omni suspensione sublata.*” They recall the condemnation passed upon their doctrines at an earlier period, and diffusely enlarge upon the fact: “*quæ mala sub ea confirmatione lateant.*”

all, residence was considered indispensable. But the Spaniards maintained that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the papal, as was asserted at Rome, but that its origin rested immediately on divine appointment. This assertion struck at the very root of the whole ecclesiastical system. The independence of the inferior authorities of the church, which the popes had so carefully laboured to keep down, must have been restored by the development of this principle.

In the midst of the most violent disputes on this subject, the imperial ambassadors arrived. The articles which they proposed are highly remarkable; one is thus expressed: "It were to be wished that the pope should humble himself according to the example of Christ, and submit to a reform affecting his own person, his dominions, and his curia. The council must reform the nomination of cardinals as well as the conclave." Ferdinand used to say, "Since the cardinals are not good, how can they chose a good pope?" He wished to see the plan of the council of Constance, which had never been carried into execution, adopted as the basis of the reforms he contemplated. The resolutions were to be prepared by deputations from the different countries. But besides this, he demanded the cup at the sacrament, permission for priests to marry, dispensation from fasting for some of his subjects, the erection of schools for the poor, the purification of the breviary, legends, and postils, more intelligible catechisms, church music adapted

to German words, and a reformation of the convents, for this reason, among others, "that their great riches should not be applied to such infamous purposes."* These were indeed most important demands, and such as would necessarily lead to a fundamental change in the constitution of the church. The emperor pressed for their discussion in repeated letters.

At length the cardinal of Lorraine appeared, accompanied by the French prelates. He seconded the German propositions. He demanded especially, that the cup should be granted to the laity, the sacraments administered in the language of the people, preaching and instruction introduced at the mass, and permission given to sing the psalms in French in full congregation:—all things from which the most important results were hoped in France. "We are quite certain," says the king, "that the granting the cup to the laity will calm many troubled consciences, and restore to the church whole provinces which have seceded from it; in short it would be

* Pallavicini almost entirely overlooks these demands, xvii. 1, 6. They are inconvenient to him, nor have they, in fact, ever been made known under their proper form. They are presented to us in three extracts. The first is to be found in P Sarpi, lib. vi. p. 325, and, likewise, with no variation, except that it is in Latin, in Rainaldi and Goldast. The second is contained in Bartholomæus de Martyribus, and is somewhat more detailed. Schelhorn has taken the third from the papers of Staphylus. They do not perfectly agree. I am inclined to think the original is to be found at Vienna; it must be a remarkable document. I have abided by the extract in Schelhorn. Le Plat gives them all, as well as the answer.

one of the best means of allaying the disturbances which agitate our dominions.”* But not content with this, the French again revived the decrees of the council of Basle, and openly asserted that the authority of a council was superior to that of the pope.

The Spaniards were, however, by no means prepared to concur in the demands of the Germans and the French; they most vehemently condemned the granting the cup to the laity, and the marriage of priests, so that no concession could be obtained from the council on these points; nothing was carried, but that the expediency of granting the permission should be referred to the pope. But there were points on which the three nations jointly opposed the claims of the curia. They thought it intolerable that the legates should possess the sole right of bringing forward propositions: but that these very legates should also apply for the pope's approbation of every decision before they would agree to it, appeared to them an insult to the dignity of a council. “In this manner of proceeding,” said the emperor, “there would be in fact two councils, one at Trent, the other, and the true one, at Rome.”

If, in this state of opinions, questions had been carried by the votes of nations, what strange and astonishing decrees would have emanated from this council!

As, however, this was not the case, the three nations united were still in a minority. The

* *Mémoire baillé à Mr. le Cl. de Lorraine, quand il est parti pour aller au concile: Le Plat, iv. 562.*

Italians were far more numerous, and, as usual, defended the opinions of the curia, on which most of them were dependent, without much regard to principle or conscience. Hence arose the bitterest mutual animosity.

The French jested about the Holy Ghost being brought to Trent in a knapsack. The Italians talked of Spanish eruptions and French diseases, by which all the faithful were visited in turn. When the bishop of Cadiz said, that there had been renowned bishops, aye, and fathers of the church, whom no pope had appointed, the Italians broke forth in a general outcry, insisted on his departure, and talked of anathema and heresy. The Spaniards retaliated the anathema on them.* Sometimes mobs assembled, shouting Spain!—Italy! Blood flowed in the streets and on the ground consecrated to peace.

Was it surprising, that for ten months no sitting could be held? that the first legate dissuaded the pope from going to Bologna, representing to him what would be said if, even by his presence, the council could not be brought to any proper termination, and had to be dissolved?† But a dissolution, a suspension, or even only a translation, which had often been thought of, would have been extremely dangerous. At Rome, nothing but mis-

* Pallavicini, xv. v. 5. Paleotto, Acta: "Alii prælati ingeminabant, clamantes, 'Exeat, exeat;' et alii, 'Anathema sit,' ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit, 'Anathema vos estis.'" Mendham, *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, p. 251.

† Lettere del C^{le} di Mantua, Legato al Concilio di Trento, scritta al Papa Pio IV., li 15 Gen. 1563: "Quando si avesse da

chief was anticipated; a council was thought too strong a remedy for the enfeebled constitution of the church, and ruin was predicted for it and for Italy from the measure. “A few days before my departure, in the beginning of the year 1563,” says Girolamo Soranzo, “Cardinal Carpi, the deacon of the college, a man of great judgment, said to me, in his last illness, that he had prayed to God mercifully to grant him death, and not to let him live to see the downfall and interment of Rome. All the other distinguished cardinals incessantly lament their ill fortune, and clearly see there is no help for them unless from the especial protection of God’s holy hand.”* Pius IV. dreaded to see all the evils which any of his predecessors had ever anticipated from a council, poured out on his own head.

It is a sublime idea, that, in seasons of difficulty, and especially during great errors in the church, there exists an assembly of her chief shepherds able to remedy the evil. “Let such an assembly,” says Augustin, “consult together without arrogance or envy, in holy humility, in catholic peace; and, after acquiring greater experience, let it open

dissolversi questo concilio—per causa d’altri e non nostra,—mi piacerebbe più che V^{ra} Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma.”

* “Li Cardinali di maggior autorità deploravano con tutti a tutte l’ore la loro miseria, la quale stimano tanto maggiore che vedono e conoscono assai chiaro, non esservi rimedio alcuno se non quello che piacesse dare al S^r Dio con la sua santissima mano.—Certo non si può se non temere,” adds Soranzo himself, “Ser^{mo} Principe, che la povera Italia afflitta per altre cause habbi ancor a sentire afflittione per questo particolarmente: lo vedono e lo conoscono tutti i savj.” (App. No. 35.)

that which was closed, and bring to light that which was hidden." But even in the earliest times this ideal was far from being realised; it would, indeed, have required a purity of intention, and an independence of all foreign influences, which do not appear to be granted to man. How far less attainable was it now, when the church was involved in a thousand contradictory relations with the state.

If, in spite of their imperfections, the councils continued to enjoy great consideration, and were often urgently demanded, this principally arose from the necessity of imposing some restraint on the power of the popes. The present state of affairs seemed, however, to prove the truth of what they had always asserted,—that in times of great perplexity a convocation tended much rather to increase than to remove the difficulties. The whole of Italy shared the fears of the curia. "Either," said they, "the council will be continued, or it will be dissolved; in the former case,—especially should the pope die in the mean time,—the ultramontane party will manage the conclave according to their own views, and to the prejudice of Italy; they will impose so many restrictions on the reigning pope as to leave him little more than mere bishop of Rome; under the name of a reform they will destroy all appointments and ruin the whole curia. If, on the other hand, it should be dissolved without any good results, even the faithful would take great offence at it, and the wavering be placed in the utmost danger of being utterly lost."

If we consider the state of things we shall see the total impossibility of producing any change in the prevailing sentiments of the council itself. In direct opposition to the legates, who were guided by the pope, and to the Italians, who were dependent on him, stood the prelates of the other nations, who in their turn sided each with the ambassador of his own sovereign. Thus no reconciliation, no expedient for mediation, was practicable. Even in February, 1563, the position of affairs seemed desperate. Universal discord prevailed; each party obstinately adhered to its own opinions.

But on a more careful examination of the precise state of things, a possibility of escaping from this labyrinth appeared.

In Trent, opinions only met and fought;—their sources were at Rome and at the courts of the several princes. In order to remove the difficulty it was necessary to go to the fountain-head. Pius IV. had already said that the papacy could no longer support itself without an alliance with other powers; now was the moment to put this maxim into practice. He at one time entertained the project of receiving the demands of the different courts himself, and granting them without the intervention of the council; but this would have been a half measure only. The essential point was to put an end to the council in concert with the other great powers, without whose co-operation this object could not be accomplished.

Paul IV. resolved to make the attempt, in which

he was seconded by Morone, the most able and statesmanlike of his cardinals.

The most important person to gain was the emperor Ferdinand, with whom, as we have already said, the French had allied themselves, and who enjoyed no little consideration from his nephew Philip II.

Morone, who had been lately elected president of the council, but quickly felt convinced that nothing was to be accomplished at Trent, went in April, 1563, unaccompanied by a single other prelate, to visit the emperor at Inspruck; he found him annoyed, discontented, and offended; convinced that no serious reform would be tolerated at Rome, and determined, in the first place, to procure the freedom of the council.*

In order to pacify the offended sovereign, the legate needed remarkable address, of the kind we should now call diplomatic.†

Ferdinand was incensed because his articles of reformation had been placed at the end, and, in-

* To this place belongs also the *Relatione in scr. fatta dal Comendone ai S^{ri} Legati del Concilio sopra le cose ritratte dall' imperatore, 19 Febr. 1563*: " Pare che pensino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con li Francesi." (App. No. 38.)

† The most important document I have met with, relating to the transactions at Trent, is Morone's Narrative of his Legation; it is short, but conclusive. Neither Sarpi nor Pallavicini contain any notice of it. *Relatione sommaria del Cl. Morone sopra la Legatione sua.* Altieri Library at Rome, vii. f. 3. (App. No. 39.)

deed, had not yet been really brought under consideration. The legate contrived to persuade him that it had been thought hazardous, for reasons by no means to be despised, to discuss them with all the formalities; but that, nevertheless, the most important points had already been considered, and even determined on. The emperor complained, furthermore, that the council was directed from Rome, and that the conduct of the legates was determined by instructions sent from thence. To which Morone replied, that the ambassadors from royal courts brought instructions from home, and were constantly furnished with fresh suggestions; an assertion which was not to be denied.

In fact, Morone, who had long enjoyed the confidence of the house of Austria, got over this most delicate matter very successfully; he softened the unfavourable personal impressions which the emperor had received, and devoted himself entirely to bring about a mutual agreement on those points of dispute which had caused the greatest divisions at Trent. It was not his intention to give way in essentials, nor to suffer the power of the pope to be weakened; "the matter was," to use his own words, "to hit upon such decisions as might satisfy the emperor without trenching on the authority of the pope or the legates."*

* "Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale, che paresse all' imperatore di essere in alcuno modo soddisfatto, et insieme non si pregiudicasse all' autorità del papa nè de' legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso."

The first of these points was, the exclusive initiative of the legates, which, it was always maintained, was completely at variance with the freedom of a council. Morone remarked, that it was not the interest of princes to grant the initiative to all prelates,—a truth of which it could not be very difficult for him to convince the emperor. It was easy to see, that the bishops in possession of this right would very soon bring forward propositions in a spirit hostile to the existing claims and rights of the state. It was, therefore, manifest what disorders must arise out of such a concession. Nevertheless they desired in some degree to meet the wishes of the princes; and the expedient they adopted is remarkable. Morone promised to bring forward every thing that the ambassadors might submit to him for this purpose; adding that if he did not do this, they should have the right of proposing any measures themselves:—an endeavour at conciliation manifesting the spirit which gradually began to prevail in the council. The legates admit a case in which they would renounce the exclusive initiative, but not so much in favour of the fathers of the council as in that of the ambassadors.*

* *Summarium eorum quæ dicuntur Acta inter Cæsaream Majestatem et Illustrissimum Cardinalem Moronum*, in the *Acts of Torellus*; also, in *Salig, Geschichte des tridentinischen Conciliums*, iii. A. 292;—this is expressed in the following manner: “*Maj. S. sibi reservavit, vel per medium dictorum legatorum, vel si ipsi in hoc gravarentur, per se ipsum vel per ministros suos, proponi curare*.”—I acknowledge that I should not readily have inferred from these words such a negotiation as Morone states, although, in fact, it is implied in them.

Hence it follows, that it was the princes alone who acquired a portion of the rights hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the pope.

A second point was the demand that the deputations which prepared the decrees should be allowed to assemble according to their several nations. Morone observed, that, in fact and practice, they had always done so; but that, since the emperor wished it, the rule should now be established and strictly adhered to.

The third point of difference was then discussed,—reform. Ferdinand at last consented that the expression,—reformation of the head,—should be avoided, as well as the old question debated in the Sorbonne,—whether the authority of the council was superior to that of the pope, or not: in consideration of which, Morone, on his side, promised a thorough reform in all branches. The project of this, which was drawn up, included even the conclave.

Having dismissed these main questions, they were soon agreed on the secondary ones. The emperor withdrew many of his demands, and instructed his ambassadors above all things to keep on good terms with the papal legates. After this successful arrangement of affairs, Morone re-crossed the Alps. “As soon,” says he, “as the favourable decision of the emperor, and the union of the ambassadors with the papal legates, were fully believed, the council began to change its aspect, and to be much more easy to treat with.”

To this other circumstances contributed.

The Spaniards and French had quarrelled about the right of precedence of the representatives of their several kings, and from that time were much less inclined to co-operate. Separate negotiations were therefore set on foot with each.

Philip II. was, by the nature of his position, in most urgent need of a good understanding with the holy see. His power in Spain was mainly founded on religious interests, and his first care must be to keep these in his hands. Of this the Roman court was well aware, and the nuncio from Madrid often said that a peaceful termination of the council was no less desirable to the king than to the pope. The Spanish prelates had already stirred the matter of the burthens on ecclesiastical property, which, in their country, formed a considerable part of the revenues of the state; the king took alarm at this, and begged the pope to prohibit such offensive discussions.* How then could he entertain a thought of procuring for his prelates the privilege of moving questions, when he was occupied, on the contrary, in keeping them within bounds. Pius complained of the violent opposition which he always had to encounter from the Spaniards, and the king promised to take measures to reduce them to obedience. In short, the pope and the king came to the conviction that their interests were the same, and entered into further negotiations. The pope threw himself entirely into the arms of the king, while the king so-

* Paolo Tiepolo, *Dispaccio di Spagna*, 4th Dec. 1562.

lemnly promised the pope to come to his aid in every difficulty with all the power and resources of his kingdom.

Meanwhile, on the other side, the French grew more favourable to the pope. The Guises, who had so great an influence both on the government at home and on the council, imparted to their policy in both places a character and tendency the most strongly and increasingly catholic. It was entirely owing to the compliances of the cardinal de Guise, that, after ten months delay, after eight several adjournments, a session was at length held.

But there was also a talk of an alliance of the strictest kind. Guise proposed a congress of the most powerful catholic princes, the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain.*

In order to discuss this more fully he went himself to Rome: and the pope cannot find words to express his admiration "of his christian zeal for the service of God and the public tranquillity, not only in the affairs of the council, but in others which regard the general weal."†

It appears that the proposed congress was very agreeable to the pope, and that he sent ambassadors to the emperor and king to arrange preliminaries.

Not in Trent, therefore, but at the several courts, and by political negotiations, were the im-

* *Instruttione data a Mons. Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV. al Re catt., per le cose del Concilio di Trento (ultimo Ottobre, 1563): Barberini Library, 3007. (App. No. 37.)*

† "Il beneficio universale:" *Lettera di Papa Pio IV., 20 Ottobre, 1563.*

portant dissensions appeased, and the great obstacles to a successful termination of the council removed.

Morone, who had contributed the most to this result, had also found the art of conciliating the prelates personally; he gave them all the consideration, the applause, the favour they desired.* He afforded a signal proof what a man of sense and address, who understands the situation of affairs, and proposes to himself an object compatible with it, can effect, even in circumstances of the greatest difficulty. To him, if to any man, is the catholic church indebted for the happy issue of the council. The way was now smoothed, and, as he himself says, there remained only to enter upon the difficulties inherent in the matter. The old disputed question of the necessity of residence and the divine right of bishops, was still pending. For a long time the Spaniards were immoveable in their doctrines, which, even so late as July, 1563, they declared to be as infallible as the Ten Commandments; the archbishop of Granada wished to see all books prohibited in which the contrary opinions were maintained †; nevertheless, when the decree was drawn up, they consented to the suppression of their principle, while a form was adopted which

* I have not yet seen the life of Ayala, by Villanueva, in which, as I find, there must be some notice of this matter. In the mean while the assertion of Morone is quite sufficient: "I prelati," he says, "accarezzati e stimati e lodati e gratiati si fecero più trattabili."

† Scrittura nelle Lettere e Memorie del Nuncio Visconti, ii. 174.

still left it possible for them to defend it at any future time ; an ambiguity which Lainez thought particularly worthy of praise.*

The same course was pursued as to the other point in debate,—the initiative,—*proponentibus legatis*. The pope declared that every individual should be free to ask and to say, what he had a right, according to the ancient councils, to say or to ask ; only he must carefully avoid using the word, *to propose*.† An evasion was thus contrived which satisfied the Spaniards, while the pope had in fact conceded nothing.

After the obstacles created by political interests and views had been withdrawn, the council sought not so much to decide, as by adroit mediation to get rid of, the questions which had given occasion to bitterness and anger.

In this temper of the assembly, the less important and doubtful points were more easily disposed of, and never did business advance more rapidly. The weighty dogmas of the ordination of the clergy, the sacrament of marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the worship of saints, and by far the most considerable reformatory ordinances which the council had ever drawn up, fall within the three last sessions in the latter half of the year 1563.

The congregations on both sides were composed of different nations. The project of reform was

* “Ejus verba in utramque partem pie satis posse exponi :” Paleotto in Mendham’s *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, p. 262.

† Pallavicini, xxiii. 6. 5.

discussed in five separate assemblies, one French, which met at the house of cardinal de Guise ; one Spanish, at that of the archbishop of Granada ; and three Italian.*

On most questions they easily came to an agreement : the only two real difficulties that presented themselves were, as to the exemption of chapters, and the plurality of livings, in which private interests once more played an important part.

The former of these questions especially affected Spain ; where the chapters had already lost somewhat of the extraordinary privileges they had formerly possessed. While they wished to regain them, the king aimed at curtailing them still more : as he appointed the bishops, he was himself interested in the extension of the episcopal power. The pope, on the contrary, was for the chapters ; since their absolute subjection to the bishops would have tended not a little to diminish his influence over the church of Spain.

These two great powers were, therefore, once more brought into collision on this point, and it was a question, which would gain the majority. The king, too, was extremely strong in the council ; his ambassador had had power to send away a delegate who was appointed by the chapters to watch over their privileges ; he had so many ecclesiasti-

* The best accounts of this subject, taken from authentic letters, are to be found, where they would not be looked for, in Bainsi, *Vita di Palestrina*, i. 199. The Diary of Servantio, made use of by Mendham, (p. 304,) touches on the affair.

cal favours to dispense, that no man liked to risk a rupture with him; in consequence of which, when it came to the voting orally, the result was unfavourable to the chapters. The expedient which the papal legates next devised, is worth notice. They determined this time that the votes should be given in writing; since the oral declarations, delivered in the presence of so many adherents of the king, were overruled by the influence of Spain; but this was not the case with the written ones, which passed immediately into the hands of the legates. By this means, therefore, they succeeded in obtaining a considerable majority in favour of the papal party and the chapters; supported by which, they then, with Guise's mediation, entered into fresh negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who at length acquiesced in a far smaller extension of their authority than they had aspired to.*

Still more important to the curia was the second article, concerning the plurality of benefices. A reform of the institution of cardinals had long been talked of, and there were many who thought they discovered the origin of all evil in its degeneracy. One of the most prominent abuses was the number of benefices which they held, and the reformers

* Sarpi, viii. 816, does not render this affair quite intelligible. The authentic explanation by Morone, is very acceptable: "L'articolo delle cause e dell'essenze de' canonici fu vinto secondo la domanda degli oltramontani: poi facendosi contra l'uso che li padri tutti dessero voti in iscritto, furono mutate molte sententie e fu vinto il contrario. Si venne al fin alla concordia che si vede nei decreti, e fu mezzano Lorena, che gia era tornato da Roma, tutto addetto al servizio di S. Beatitudine et alla fine del concilio." (App. No. 39.)

intended to check this by the most rigorous laws. It is easy to understand how sensitive the curia must have been on the subject of every innovation which had such an object in view ; it feared and shunned even a serious discussion on the subject. The expedient adopted by Morone in this matter also, is very singular. He mixed up the reform of the cardinals with the articles concerning the bishops. " Few," says he himself, " perceived the importance of the affair, and in this way all rocks and quicksands were avoided."

The pope having thus happily accomplished the maintenance of the court of Rome in the form and state it had hitherto held, evinced a readiness to let drop the subject of the reformation of princes which had been projected ; in this he yielded to the representations of the emperor.*

The whole of the proceedings were in fact like those of an amicable congress. While the questions of subordinate interest were reduced to universal decrees by the divines, the courts negotiated concerning the more important. Messengers were incessantly flying in every direction, and one concession was requited by another.

The pope's strongest wish was to bring things to a speedy termination. For a time the Spaniards hesitated to agree to this ; the reform was not yet satisfactory to them, and the royal envoy once even

* The fact, that a thorough reform of the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave, did not take place, is closely connected with the neglect of the reformation of the sovereigns. Extracts from the correspondence of the legates, in Pallavicini, xxiii. 7, 4.

made a show of protesting ; but, as the pope declared himself disposed, in case of urgency, to summon a new synod* ; as the strongest objections existed to protracting the proceedings till a vacancy of the holy see might occur, whilst the council was still sitting ; lastly, as every body was tired and wanted to go home,—even they at length gave way.

The spirit of the opposition was essentially subdued ; indeed, in its later stages, the council manifested the greatest submissiveness. It condescended to ask of the pope a confirmation of its decrees ; and expressly declared that all canons of reform, whatever might be the words in which they were expressed, were conceived on the full understanding that the dignity of the holy see would be untouched by them.† How far was the council of Trent from reviving the claims of Constance or of Basle to a superiority over the papal authority ! The proclamations, with which the sittings were closed, (drawn up by cardinal Guise) contained a distinct and particular recognition of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope.

Such was the successful issue of the council, which, sourgently demanded, so long deferred, twice dissolved, shaken by so many political storms, and, even at its third convocation, beset with dangers, ended in the universal agreement of the catholic world. It is no wonder, that at the last meeting of the prelates on the 4th of Dec., 1563, they were full of emotion and gladness. Even opponents

* Pallavicini, xxiv. 8, 5.

† Sessio xxv. c. xxi.

wished each other joy ; tears were seen in many of those aged eyes.

But if all the supple and dexterous policy which we have observed, had been needed to arrive at this result, we may be led to inquire, whether the efficiency of the council had not been thus necessarily impaired.

The council of Trent, if not the most important of all, is unquestionably the most important of any that have been held in the later ages of the church.

Its importance is compressed into two grand crises.

In the first, which we touched upon in a former place, during the war of Smalcalde, the creed of Rome, after many vacillations, severed itself for ever from the protestant doctrines. The entire system of dogmatic catholicism, such as it is still professed, arose out of the doctrine of justification as then expounded.

In the second, which we have just considered, after Morone's conferences with the emperor in the summer and autumn of the year 1563, the hierarchy was organized anew ; theoretically, by the decrees concerning the consecration of the clergy, practically, by the canons of reform.

These reforms are to this hour of the highest importance.

The faithful were again subjected to severe and uncompromising church discipline, and, in pressing cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded, in which the young clergy were

carefully educated in austere habits, and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, strict rules laid down for the administration of the sacrament and for preaching, and the co-operation of the regular clergy governed by fixed laws. The duties of their office, especially the supervision of the clergy, were strongly impressed upon the bishops according to the several degrees of their consecration. They also solemnly bound themselves by a peculiar profession of faith (which they subscribed, and to which they swore), to observe the decrees of the council of Trent, and to render entire obedience to the pope. A measure, the consequences of which were most important.

The object, which was certainly contemplated by the first movers of a general council of the church, i. e. the limitation of the power of the pope, was, however, not attained by it. On the contrary, that power emerged from the struggle extended and enhanced. As the pontiff held the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of Trent, it always rested with him to prescribe the rule of faith and of life. The whole direction of the restored discipline was concentrated in Rome.

The catholic church saw and admitted the diminished extent of her dominion; she ceased to take any notice of Greece and the east, and thrust protestantism from her with countless anathemas.

Primitive catholicism included an element of protestantism in its bosom; this was now for ever expelled. But the more the power of the church

of Rome was circumscribed, the more was it concentrated and collected against all assaults.

It was, as we have seen, only by the consent and assistance of the leading catholic sovereigns that so much was effected : and in this union of catholicism with royalty lies one of the main conditions of its subsequent development, which has an analogy with the tendency of protestantism to combine sovereign with episcopal rights. This gradually arose among catholics. It is easy to see that it involves a possibility of fresh division ; but of that there was no immediate fear. In one province after another the resolutions of the council were promptly accepted.

The claims of Pius IV. to a distinguished place in history, rest upon the part he took in this event. He was the first pope who consciously and designedly renounced the tendency of the hierarchy to set itself in opposition to the civil power.

Having attained this grand result, Pius undoubtedly thought he had completed the task allotted him. It is remarkable, that his mind relaxed from its tension as soon as the council was closed. Men thought they observed that he neglected divine service, indulged too much in the pleasures of the table, and delighted in a splendid court, sumptuous feasts and magnificent buildings. The zealous remarked a difference between him and his predecessor, which they loudly lamented.*

* Paolo Tiepolo: "Doppo che questo (il concilio) hebbe fine, liberato da una grande sollecitudine fattosi fermo e gagliardo nell'

Nevertheless, no great reaction was likely to ensue. A tendency had unfolded itself in catholicism which could never again be repressed or overcome.

When once a spirit is aroused, it is impossible to prescribe the path it shall follow. Any, even the most trifling deviation from its laws, on the part of those who are regarded as its representatives, excites the most extraordinary symptoms of agitation in the public mind. Thus the spirit of rigid catholicism which had arisen, instantly became perilous even to Pius IV. himself.

There lived in Rome a certain Benedetto Accolti, catholic to enthusiasm, always speaking of a mystery which God had entrusted to him, and which he would reveal; as a proof that he spoke truth, he offered to walk unhurt through a burning pile on the Piazza Navona in the presence of the assembled people. His mystery was this: he imagined he had a foreknowledge that a union would soon take place between the Greek and Roman churches; that this united catholic church would reduce the Turks and all heretics to subjection; that the pope would be a holy man, would attain to a universal monarchy, and would bring back the reign of perfect justice on earth. He was filled to fanaticism with these notions.

He found, however, that Pius IV., whose worldly character and habits were infinitely removed from

autorità sua, incominciò più liberamente ad operare conforme alla sua inclinazione e pensieri: onde facilmente si conobbe in lui animo più tosto da principe, che attendesse solamente al fatto suo, che di pontefice, che avesse rispetto al beneficio e salute degli altri." (App. No. 41.) The same remark is made by Panvinus.

his ideal, was not suited to so sublime an undertaking. Benedetto Accolti thought he was appointed by God to rid Christendom of so unprofitable a chief.

He formed a plan to assassinate the pope, and succeeded in finding an associate to whom he promised recompense from God, and from the future holy sovereign pontiff. One day they set out on their enterprise. They saw the pope approaching in the midst of a procession, easily accessible, tranquil, without suspicion, and without defence. Accolti, instead of rushing upon him, began to tremble and to change colour. The pomp and circumstance that surround a pope could not fail to make a strong impression on so fanatical a catholic. The pope passed by.

Others however had observed Accolti. Antonio Canossa, the companion whom he had seduced to join him, was not a man of stubborn resolution; one while, he suffered himself to be persuaded to make a fresh attempt to execute their design, at another, he felt tempted to denounce himself and his associate in crime. They did not preserve entire secrecy, and at length were arrested and on demned to death.*

We see what spirits were in motion in these excited times. Much as Pius had done for the reconstruction of the church, there were yet many

* I take these facts, which I have nowhere else found, from a MS. in the Corsini Library at Rome, No. 674, with the title: Antonio Canossa: Questo è il sommario della mia depositione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnerà V. S. mandare alli miei S^{ri}. padre e madre." (App. No. 40)

to whom it seemed quite insufficient, and who cherished far other projects.

§ 8. PIUS V.

AFTER the death of Pius IV., which occurred on the 9th of Dec. 1565, the adherents of the rigid party in the church gained a great and unexpected advantage in the election of a pope who was entirely one of themselves. This pope was Pius V.

I will not repeat the more or less doubtful accounts of his election given in the book on the conclaves and in some of the historians of the time. We have a letter by Carlo Borromeo, who was known to have the greatest influence on their choice, which gives us sufficient information on the subject. "I resolved," says he, "to attend to nothing so much as religion and faith; and as I was acquainted with the piety, purity of life, and devout spirit of the cardinal of Alessandria—afterwards Pius V.,—I thought that the republic of Christ would be most fitly administered by him, and used my utmost exertions in his favour."* From a man of such a profoundly spiritual temper as Carlo Borromeo no other motives could possibly be expected. Philip II., gained over by his ambassador to the interest of the same cardinal, expressly thanked Borromeo for the share he had had in this election.†

* Clis. Borromeus, Henrico Cli. Infanti Portugalliæ, Romæ, d. 26 Febr., 1566, Glussiani Vita C. Borromei, p. 62. Compare Ripamonti, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*, lib. xii. p. 814.

† I find this in a *Dispaccio di Soranzo, Amb^{co} in Spagna*: "Non

The new pope was precisely the man who was thought to be wanted. The adherents of Paul IV., who had hitherto remained quiet, thought themselves happy. Some of their letters are still extant :—"To Rome, to Rome," writes one of them, "come with confidence, and without delay, but with all modesty ; God has raised up to us another Paul IV."

Michele Ghislieri, now Pius V., born of humble parentage at Bosco near Alessandria, in the year 1504, entered a Dominican convent when he was only fourteen. There he gave himself up, body and soul, to the monastic poverty and piety which his order enjoined. He did not retain so much of the alms he received as to buy himself a cloak ; the best preservative against the effect of summer heat, he said, was to eat little ; and although confessor to the governor of Milan, he always travelled on foot, with his wallet on his back. If he taught, he did it with zeal and precision ; if he had to administer the affairs of a convent as prior, he was severe and frugal, and extricated more than one religious house from debt. His moral growth and training were accomplished in the years in which the conflict between the established creed and the protestant

essendo conosciute le qualità di S. Sà., da questo Ser^{mo} re, mentre era in cardinalato, il detto commendator (Luigi Requesens, Comm. maggior) sempre lo laudò molto, predicando questo soggetto esser degno del pontificato, con il che S. M. si mosse a dargli ordine che con ogni suo potere li desse favore." The story which Oltrocchi relates in the Remarks on Giussano, p. 219, thus falls to the ground. The election took place on the 8th Jan., 1566.

innovations extended even to Italy. He took part in favour of the strictest form of the ancient faith, in thirty disputations which he held in 1543 at Parma, most of which related to the authority of the pope, and were opposed to the new opinions. He very soon received an appointment as inquisitor, and had to exercise his office in places of peculiar danger; in Como and Bergamo*, where the intercourse with Germans and Swiss could not be avoided, and in the Valteline, which belonged to the Grisons. In this situation, he displayed the pertinacity and the courage of a zealot. Sometimes he was received on his entrance to Como with showers of stones; often he was obliged to conceal himself by night in a peasant's hut, and to escape like a criminal, in order to save his life: but no personal danger could turn him from his purpose. The Conte della Trinità threatened to have him thrown into a well; he replied that it must be as God pleased. In this way he was implicated in the struggle of intellectual and political powers which then agitated Italy. As the side which he had taken was the victorious one, he shared in its elevation and success. He became commissary of the inquisition in Rome. Paul IV. very soon remarked that he was an eminent servant of God, and worthy

* Paolo Tiepolo, Relazione di Roma in Tempo di Pio IV. et V.: "In Bergamo li fu levato per forza dalle prigioni del monastero di S. Domenico, dove allora si solevano mettere i rei, un principale heretico, nominato Giorgio Mondaga [another name for the list of Italian protestants], con gran pericolo suo e de' frati. Nella medesima città poi travagliò assai per formare il processo contra il vescovo allora di Bergamo." (App. No. 41.)

of higher honours; he nominated him bishop of Nepi, as a means of effectually preventing his returning to the seclusion of a cloister*; and, in 1557, cardinal. Even in this new and high dignity, Ghislieri preserved all his austerity, poverty and humility; he told his household, that they must imagine they lived in a convent. He was exclusively devoted to the practices of piety, and to the business of the inquisition.

In a man of this character, Borromeo, Philip II. and the whole strict party thought they beheld the saviour of the church. The citizens of Rome were not so well satisfied. "They shall lament for me so much the more, when I am dead," said Pius V. when he heard it.

Even when pope, he lived in all the austerity of his monastic life, fasted with the utmost rigour and punctuality, would wear no finer garments than before†, frequently said mass and heard it every day; yet so careful was he lest his spiritual exercises should distract him from public business, that he arose at an extremely early hour in the morning and took no siesta. If we were inclined to doubt the depth of his religious earnestness, we may accept as a proof of it, his declaration that he found the papacy unfavourable to his advance in piety; that it did not

* Catena, Vita di Pio V., whence we have taken the greater number of our accounts, contains this also. Pius V. himself related it to the Venetian ambassadors, as they, viz. Mich. Suriano and Paolo Tiepolo, (2 Oct. 1568,) inform us. (App. No. 41, 42.)

† Catena. Tiepolo: "Nè mai ha lasciato la camisia di rassa, che come frate incominciò di portare. Fa le orationi devotissimamente et alcune volte colle lacrime."

contribute to enable him to work out the salvation of his soul, or to attain to the glories of paradise ; he thought that, without prayer, this burthen would be too heavy for him to bear. The happiness of a fervent devotion which often moved him to tears, and from which he arose with the persuasion that he was heard—this happiness, the only one of which he had ever been susceptible, was granted him to the end of his life. The people were excited to enthusiasm when they saw him walking in processions, barefoot and bareheaded, with the genuine expression of unaffected piety in his countenance, and with his long snow-white beard falling on his breast ; they thought there had never been so pious a pope, —they repeated to each other how his very look had converted heretics. Pius was kind too, and affable ; his intercourse with his old servants was of the most confidential kind. How beautiful was his greeting to that same Conte della Trinità, who had threatened his life, and who was now sent as ambassador to his court ! “ See,” said he, “ when he recognised him, “ how God preserves the innocent ;” this was the only way in which he ever made the count feel that he recollected his enmity. He had ever been most charitable and bounteous ; he kept a list of the poor of Rome, whom he regularly assisted according to their station and their wants.

Men of this character are habitually humble, meek and childlike ; but when irritated and wounded, their anger is violent, and their resentment implacable. They regard their peculiar form of faith as a duty of the highest order, the nonfulfilment of which exasperates them. Pius V. had the most thorough

conviction that he had never deviated from the right path; the fact that this path had conducted him to the papacy, filled him with a confidence which raised him completely above all idea of doubt or compromise.

He adhered with intense obstinacy to his opinions, which the strongest arguments would not induce him to change. He was easily irritated by contradiction, became red in the face, and used the most violent expressions.* As he understood little of the affairs of the world and of the state, and suffered himself to be affected in various ways by subordinate and accidental circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult to deal with him.

In his personal relations, he did not indeed allow himself to be determined by first impressions; but when once he had made up his mind that a man was good or bad, nothing could change his opinion.† He was, however, more ready to believe that people grew worse than better; most men were objects of suspicion to him.

It was remarked, that he never commuted a sentence for a more lenient one; on the contrary, he generally wished them more severe.

* *Informatione di Pio V.* (Ambrosian Library at Milan, F. D. 181 :) “La S.^a S. naturalmente è gioviale e piacevole, se ben per accidente pare di altra dispositione, e di quì viene che volentieri onestamente ragiona con Mr. Cisillo suo maestro di casa, il quale con le sue piacevolezze, essendo huomo destro et accorto, diletta S. Beatitudine, e sempre profitta a se stesso et altri.” (App. No. 43.)

† *Informatione di Pio V.*: “È più difficultoso di lasciar la cattiva impressione che la buona, e massimamente di quelle persone che non ha in pratica.”

It was not enough in his estimation that the inquisition punished crimes of recent date, he caused inquiry to be made into those of ten or twenty years' standing. If a place was distinguished for the small number of its convictions, he thought it needed purging; he attributed its exemption from punishments to the negligence of the authorities.

Let us only see with what rigour he urged the maintenance of church discipline. "We forbid," says he in one of his bulls, "every physician who may be called to the bedside of a patient, to visit him for more than three days, unless he receives an attestation that the sick man has made fresh confession of his sins."* Another allots the punishments for the desecration of the sabbath and for blasphemy. In the case of wealthy offenders, fines were imposed. "But a poor man who cannot pay, shall, for the first offence, stand the whole of one day before the church-door with his hands tied behind his back; for the second, he shall be flogged through the town; and for the third, his tongue shall be pierced and he shall be sent to the galleys."

Such is the general tenor of his ordinances; his attendants were continually obliged to repeat to him, that he had to deal, not with angels but with men.†

* *Supra gregem dominicum* : Bull. iv. ii. p. 281.

† In the *Informationi Politiche*, xii., there is, for instance, an "Epistola a N. S. Pio V., nella quale si esorta S. S. tollerare gli Ebrei et le corteggiane," by a certain Bertano; which expatiates on this subject. The Caporioni begged the pope to show them at least the smallest degree of tolerance. The pope answered, "he had rather quit Rome than wink at such things."

The urgent necessity which now existed for avoiding any measures offensive to the temporal potentates of Europe, did not restrain him in these courses ; the bull *In Cænâ Domini*, which the princes had always complained of, he not only re-issued, but enhanced its severity by new provisions of his own, in which he evinced a general purpose of refusing to governments the right of imposing new taxes.

It may be concluded, of course, that a reaction followed upon such violent encroachments. It was not only that the demands which a man of such sternness and austerity conceives himself entitled to make upon mankind, can never be satisfied ; but in this case they provoked deliberate resistance and gave rise to countless misunderstandings. Devout and bigoted as Philip II. was, even he was once forced to remind the pope that he had better not try what a king, pushed to the last extremity, was capable of doing.

This, the pope, on his side, felt most profoundly. He was often unhappy in his lofty station. He said he was weary of life ; that as he had acted without regard to persons, he had made enemies ; and that since he had been pope he had experienced nothing but disgusts and persecutions.

Be this as it may, and although Pius V., like other men, was doomed to find that supreme power did not bring him full content and satisfaction, it is certain that his deportment and mode of thinking exercised an incalculable influence on his contemporaries, and on the general development of the

church of which he was the head. After so many circumstances had concurred to excite and to foster a religious spirit, after so many resolutions and measures had been taken to exalt it to universal dominion, a pope like this was needed, not only to proclaim it to the world, but also to reduce it to practice: his zeal and his example combined produced the most powerful effect.

The reformation of the court, so often promised, was now set on foot, if not in the form which had been proposed, yet in fact and practice. The expenses of the papal household were immensely reduced. Pius V. needed little for his own wants, and often said, "he who would govern, must begin with himself." He provided liberally for his servants, who had been faithful to him through his whole life, not, he believed, from any hope of reward, but from attachment alone; but he held his dependents generally within stricter bounds than any pope before him had ever done. He gave his nephew Bonelli, whom he created cardinal only because he was told that this was essential to a more intimate connexion with the temporal powers, a moderate establishment; but on one occasion when Bonelli's father came to Rome, he compelled him to quit the city the same night, nay the same hour: he would never raise his other relations above a middle station, and if one among them was detected in any offence, even in a lie, he never forgave him, but drove him without mercy from his presence. How far was such a state of things from that system of nepotism which for centuries

had constituted so large a portion of papal history ! By one of his most severe and earnest bulls Pius forbade any future infeudation of church property under any title or pretext whatsoever ; he uttered sentence of excommunication against those who should even so much as advise it, and he made all the cardinals subscribe this edict.*

He proceeded strenuously in the removal of abuses ; granted few dispensations, and yet fewer compositions, and often limited the indulgences granted by his predecessors. He charged his auditor-general to proceed without delay against all archbishops or bishops who did not reside in their dioceses, and to report to him, in order that he might immediately dismiss the disobedient.† He commanded all parish priests, under heavy penalties, to remain in their parishes and to see that God's service was duly performed ; he recalled whatever dispensations they might have received on this matter.‡ Nor were his efforts to restore the order and discipline of the cloister less strenuous. On the one side he confirmed to the convents their exemption from taxes and other burthens, for instance, the quartering of troops,—for he would not suffer their tranquillity to be interrupted ; but at the same time he forbade monks to hear confession without the permission and examination of the bishop, and ordained that every new bishop should

* *Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca S. R. E.:*
Admonet nos : 1567, 29 Mart.

† *Cum Alias*, 1566, 10 Junii. Bull. iv. ii. 303.

‡ *Cupientes*, 1568, 8 Julii. Bull. iv. iii. 24.

have power to repeat the examination.* He commanded the strictest seclusion, as well of monks as of nuns. This was not universally commended. It was alleged that he imposed upon people severer rules than they had engaged to abide by; some fell into despondency, others fled from the cloister.†

All these things he carried into effect first in Rome and the states of the church. He bound the secular as well as the spiritual authorities to the maintenance of his spiritual ordinances‡, while he himself watched over a severe and impartial administration of justice§; he not only earnestly admonished magistrates to that end, but every last Wednesday of the month held a public session with the cardinals, at which all persons whatever might state any complaints they had to make of the ordinary tribunals.

Independently of this, he was unwearied in giving audience. From early morning he remained

* Romani, 1571, 6 Aug. Bull. iv. iii. 177.

† Tiepolo: "Spesse volte nel dar rimedio a qualche disordine incorre in un' altro maggiore, procedendo massimamente per via degli estremi."

‡ Bull. iv. iii. 284.

§ Informatione delle qualità di Pio V., e delle cose che da quelle dependono (Berlin Library): "Nel conferire le gratie non si cura delle circostanze, secondo che alle volte sarebbe necessario per qualsivoglia rispetto considerabile, nè a requisition d'alcuno la giustitia si ha punto alterata, ancora che sia senza dar scandalo e con esempio d'altri pontefici potesse fare." Soriano is of opinion that he never granted any favour without adding to it an admonition: "il che mi parse proprio il stilo de' confessori, che fanno una gran riprensione al penitente, quando sono per assolverlo." (App. No. 42.)

seated in his chair, and every body was admitted to his presence. In effect this zeal and activity produced a total reform of the manners of Rome. "At Rome," says Paolo Tiepolo, "things now go on in a wholly different way from that we have been accustomed to. Men are become much better, or at least they appear so."

The same results took place more or less all over Italy. Church discipline was universally rendered more strict by the publication of the decrees of the council, and a degree of obedience was paid to the pope which it was long since any of his predecessors had obtained.

Duke Cosmo of Florence scrupled not to deliver up to him those who were condemned by the inquisition. Carnesecchi, one of the literati who had taken part in the first movement towards protestantism in Italy, had hitherto escaped unharmed; but now neither his personal respectability, nor the reputation of his family, nor the relation in which he stood to the reigning house, had power to afford him protection; he was delivered up in fetters to the Roman inquisition, and condemned to perish in the flames.* Cosmo was entirely devoted to the pope. He supported him in all his undertakings, and admitted all his spiritual claims without hesitation. In return, the pope was induced to confer on him the title and the crown of grand duke of Tuscany. The right of the see of Rome to make such a grant was in the highest degree questionable, and Cosmo's immoralities rendered it justly

* 1567. Cantini, *Vita di Cosimo*, p. 458.

offensive; but the devotion he manifested to the holy see, the strict ecclesiastical rules which he introduced into his dominions, were, in the eyes of the pope, merits which covered all his defects.

The old antagonists of the Medici, the Farnesi, rivalled them in the same course. Ottavio Farnese deemed it an honour to execute the commands of the pope on the slightest hint.

The terms on which Pius stood with the Venetians were not quite so good. They were neither so hostile to the Turks, nor so indulgent to monastic bodies, nor so obsequious to the inquisition, as he desired. He took care however not to quarrel with them. He pronounced that the republic was founded on the faith; that she had ever remained true to the catholic church; that she alone had been exempted from the incursions of barbarians; that the honour of Italy rested on her:—he declared that he loved Venice. The Venetians, on their side, conceded more to him than they had done to any other pope. They delivered up the unfortunate Guido Zanetti of Fano, who had fallen under suspicion of heterodoxy and had fled to Padua:—an act unknown before in Venice. The clergy of the city, who for a long time had troubled themselves little about the rules of the church, were brought into tolerable order. Besides this, the churches of Verona were placed under the most admirable discipline by G. Matteo Giberti. His example was quoted as affording a perfect pattern of the life of a true bishop*;

* Petri Francisci Zini, boni pastoris exemplum ac specimen singulare ex Jo. Matthæo Giberto Episcopo expressum atque

his plans and regulations served as models throughout the catholic world, and many of them were adopted by the council of Trent. Carlo Borromeo caused a portrait of him to be painted, and kept it before his eyes, that he might be constantly reminded of his life and conversation.

But a still stronger influence was exercised by Carlo Borromeo himself. Possessed of various dignities and appointments, (among others that of grand penitentiary,) chief of the cardinals nominated by his uncle, he might have occupied the most brilliant position in Rome; but he renounced all, he declined all, to devote himself to the duties of his archbishopric of Milan. He devoted himself to them with singular energy, nay, with passion. He constantly travelled about his diocese in every direction, nor was there a village in it which he had not visited two or three times; the loftiest mountain, the most secluded valley, did not escape his notice. He was generally preceded by a *visitor*, whose report he received; but he proceeded to examine into every thing with his own eyes, he adjudged the punishment of offences, and confirmed all improvements and reforms.* He led his clergy to adopt similar proceedings; six provincial councils were held under his presidency. But he was also unwearied in the performance of his own peculiar

propositum. Written in 1556, and originally intended for England. Opera Giberti, p. 252.

* Glussianus, De vita et rebus gestis S. Caroli Borromæi Mediol. p. 112: very detailed on the "ritus visitationis," and all such things.

functions as a minister of the church. He preached and said mass, passed whole days in administering the Lord's supper, ordaining priests, receiving the profession of nuns, and consecrating altars. The ceremony of the consecration of an altar lasted eight hours; it is calculated that he consecrated three hundred. It must be admitted that many of his measures were of a wholly external character, being directed more particularly to the restoration of buildings, harmonizing of the ritual, exhibition and adoration of the host, &c. The main point is the rigid discipline in which he held his clergy, and in which their flocks were again held by them. He perfectly understood the means of winning acceptance and obedience to his ordinances. In the Swiss districts he visited the places of the most ancient and venerable sanctity, distributed gifts among the people, and invited the men of higher station to his table. On the other hand, he knew how to meet disobedience with effective measures. The country people in Valcamonica waited in the roads to receive his blessing as he passed, but, as they had not paid their tithes for some time, he drove through them without moving his hand or looking at them. The people were terrified, and consented to pay all their arrears.* Yet he occasionally found more stubborn and bitter resistance. The members of the order of the Umiliati, who had entered it only that they might enjoy its wealth in dissolute

* Ripamonte, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*, in Grævius, ii. i. p. 864. Ripamonte has besides dedicated the whole of the Second Part of his History, lib. xi. xvii., to St. Charles Borromeus.

living,* were so incensed at his attempts to reform them that they conspired against his life. While he was praying in his chapel, a shot was fired at him. Nothing however was more useful to him than this attack. The people deemed his escape a miracle, and from that moment regarded him with the utmost veneration. Since his zeal was as pure, as free from all alloy of earthly motives, as it was steady and persevering; since, even in the hour of danger, amid all the horrors of the plague, he showed an unwearied solicitude for the temporal and eternal safety of those committed to his care and government, his influence increased from day to day, and Milan assumed a totally different aspect. "How can I sufficiently praise thee, fairest of cities!" exclaims Gabrielle Paleotto, towards the end of Borromeo's administration; "I admire thy sanctity and thy piety, I behold in thee a new Jerusalem."—Whatever might be the worldliness of the Milanese nobility, exclamations so enthusiastic could not be uttered without some reason, and the duke of Savoy solemnly congratulated the archbishop on the results of his labours. The latter now sought to establish his regulations on a secure and permanent basis. A congregation was instituted whose business it was to watch over the uniformity of the ritual; a peculiar order of regular clergy called Oblati devoted themselves by vow to the service of

* They had in all 94 houses, each of which could have maintained a hundred men; but so little numerous were the members of their society, that but two fell to each house. The Order was dissolved, and the endowments of Borromeo, as well as the Jesuits, then benefited by their possessions.

the archbishop and his church; the Barnabites received new rules, and from that time have made it their duty to assist the bishops in the cure of souls, at first at Milan, and afterwards wherever introduced.* These arrangements were imitated on a small scale by the Romans. A *collegium Helveticum* was also founded in Milan for the restoration of catholicism in Switzerland, like the *collegium Germanicum* in Rome, which we have mentioned as having the same object in view for Germany. The dignity and influence of the pope could only be heightened and confirmed by these measures. Borromeo, who never received a papal brief without uncovering his head, implanted his own reverential sentiments in his church.

Meanwhile Pius V. had also acquired unwonted influence in Naples. In the very first days of his pontificate he had sent for Tommaso Orfino da Foligno, and charged him with a reformatory visitation of the Roman churches. After this was completed, he nominated Orfino bishop of Strongoli, and sent him for the same purpose to Naples. Amidst a great concourse of this devout people, Orfino accomplished his visitation in the capital, and throughout a considerable part of the kingdom.

In Naples as well as in Milan, the pope had, it is true, frequent disputes with the royal authorities. The king complained of the bull *In Cænâ Domini*, — the pope would hear nothing of the *Exequatur Regium*; the one thought that the spiritual autho-

* Ripamonte, 857. To the first founders he gives the names of Beccaria, Ferrara, and Morigia: Giussano, p. 442, makes use of the customary names.

rities did too much, the other, that the royal functionaries did too little: there were incessant provocations between the viceroys and the archbishops. The court of Madrid was, as we have said, often thoroughly discontented, and the king's confessor loudly complained. Yet there was no open rupture. Each sovereign invariably laid the chief blame on the officers and advisers of the other; they themselves personally maintained a friendly intercourse. Once when Philip was ill, Pius V. raised his hands to Heaven and prayed that God would deliver him from his sickness: the aged man prayed God to take some years from his own life, and add them to that of the king, on whom so much more depended than on himself.

Spain too was governed entirely in the spirit of ecclesiastical regeneration. The king had doubted for a moment whether he should immediately recognise the decrees of the council of Trent, or not; at all events he would fain have limited the right of the papal power to make concessions at variance with those decrees; but the religious character of his monarchy forbade every attempt of this kind; he saw that he must avoid even the semblance of a serious difference with the holy see, if he wished to remain secure of the obedience which was paid to himself. The decrees of the council were universally promulgated and its regulations introduced. The strictly dogmatic tendency was predominant here also. Carranga, archbishop of Toledo, was the highest ecclesiastic of the land; he was formerly member of the council of Trent, and the man who, after Pole, had done more than any other for the

restoration of catholicism in England under Queen Mary; yet spite of all these claims to reverence, he could not escape the inquisition. "I have," says he, "had no other object than the suppression of heresy, and in this God has shown favour to me. I have myself converted many who had erred from the faith; I have caused the bodies of some leaders of heresy to be dug up and burned; catholics and protestants have called me the chief defender of the faith." But these unquestionable proofs of catholicism availed him nothing against the inquisition. Sixteen articles were found in his works, in which he appeared to lean to the doctrines of the protestants, mainly with regard to justification. After being imprisoned for a long time in Spain and tormented with the tedious forms of procedure, he was carried to Rome; it appeared a great favour to snatch him out of the grasp of his personal enemies, yet even in Rome he could not escape sentence of death.*

If this was the fate of so exalted a personage, if this the termination of so doubtful a case, it may be imagined how little the inquisition could be disposed to tolerate undeniable deviations from the faith, on the part of persons of inferior station, such as here and there occurred in Spain. All the relentless severity with which the traces of Jewish or Mahomedan opinions had been persecuted, was now directed against the protestants. One *auto da fê* followed hard upon another, till every germ of heresy was at length crushed. After the year 1570 we find scarcely any but foreigners

* Llorente has devoted to this event three long chapters of his History of the Inquisition. Hist. de l'Inquisition, iii. 183—315.

brought before the tribunals of the inquisition on a charge of protestantism.*

In Spain, the government did not favour the Jesuits. They were said to be for the most part Jewish Christians, not of pure Spanish blood; and were believed to cherish projects of future vengeance for all that their persecuted race had suffered. In Portugal, on the contrary, the members of this order attained but too soon to unlimited power; they governed the kingdom in the name of king Sebastian. As they also enjoyed the greatest credit in Rome under Pius V., they used their authority in that country in accordance with the views of the curia. Pius V. thus ruled both peninsulas with more absolute sway than any one of his predecessors for a long time before; the ordinances of the council of Trent had everywhere gained a living power; all the bishops swore to the *Professio Fidei*, in which is embodied the substance of the dogmatic rules of the council, and pope Pius published the Roman catechism, in which these are still more fully developed. He abolished all breviaries which had not been expressly issued by the see of Rome, or which had been introduced within the last two centuries, and published a new one composed after the usages of the most ancient of the principal churches of Rome, expressing his wish that it might be universally adopted.† He also published a new missal, “after the pattern

* M'Crie, History of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Spain, p. 336.

† “Remotis iis quæ aliena et incerta essent.”—Quoniam Nobis: 9 Julii 1568.

and the ritual of the holy fathers*," for universal use : the seminaries for clergy filled ; the religious houses were efficiently reformed ; the inquisition watched with relentless severity over the unity and inviolability of the faith.

A strict union was consequently brought about among all these countries and states. To this the situation of France infinitely contributed ; for, torn with civil wars, she either renounced her old hostility to Spain, or was unable to display it with vigour and effect. The French troubles were also followed by another consequence. The events of a period always give birth to certain general political convictions, which then practically govern the world. The catholic monarchs thought they perceived that changes in the religion of a country were pregnant with destruction to its political institutions. If Pius IV. had said that the church could not subsist without the support of kings, kings were now persuaded that a union with the church was indispensable to their safety. This doctrine Pius V. incessantly preached to them ; and in fact he lived to see southern Christendom united with him in one common undertaking.

The Ottoman power was still making rapid strides : it ruled the Mediterranean ; its attacks on Malta and on Cyprus showed how seriously it contemplated the conquest of these yet unconquered islands ; it threatened Italy from the side of Hungary and Greece. Pius V. succeeded in at length

* "Collatis omnibus cum vetustissimis nostræ Vaticanæ bibliothecæ aliisque undique conquisitis emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus."

arousing the catholic princes to a sense of the imminence of this danger; the attack on Cyprus suggested to him the idea of a league, which he proposed to the Venetians on the one side, and to the Spaniards on the other. "When I received permission to treat with him on this matter," says the Venetian ambassador, "and communicated the same to him, he raised his hands to Heaven and thanked God; he promised to devote to it his whole mind and all his powers."* It cost him endless trouble to remove the difficulties which opposed the union of the two maritime powers; he associated with them the other powers of Italy, and though at first he had neither money, nor ships, nor arms, he found means to add some papal galleys to the fleet. He had a share in the choice of the commander, Don John of Austria, whose ambition and devotion he contrived to inflame at the same time. The result was the battle of Lepanto,—the most triumphant for the Christian arms that had ever been fought. So entirely was the pope absorbed in this enterprise, that on the day of the battle he thought he beheld the victory in a sort of trance. The successful issue of it filled him with the loftiest self-reliance, and the most daring projects. He hoped to crush the Ottomans in a few years.

But it was not only in enterprises so unquestionably glorious that he employed his mediation. His

* Soriano: "Havuta la risoluzione—andai subito alla audienza, benche era di notte et l' hora incommoda et S. Sà. travagliata per li accidenti seguiti quel giorno per la coronatione del duca di Fiorenza ed il protesto dell' ambasciatore Cesareo [against it]: e comunicata la commissione che haveva, S. Sà. si allegrò tutta."

religion was of so exclusive and domineering a character, that he bore the bitterest hatred to all Christians who differed from himself. What a contradiction — that the religion of meekness and humility should persecute genuine piety! — a contradiction, however, of which Pius V., bred in the inquisition, grown old in its notions, was utterly unconscious. While he strove with unwearied zeal to extirpate all remains of dissent which were to be found in catholic countries, he persecuted with yet more furious wrath the avowed protestants who were either emancipated from his authority, or still engaged in the struggle. Not only did he aid the French catholics with a small military force, he gave to their leader count Santafore the unheard of injunction, “to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands.”*

When the Netherlands revolted, Philip II. at first hesitated as to the way in which he should treat the provinces; the pope advised an armed intervention. The reason he alleged was, that those whose negotiations were not enforced by arms, must consent to receive laws; while those who had arms in their hands imposed them. He approved Alva's bloody measures, and sent him the consecrated hat and sword in token of his approbation. It cannot be proved that he was privy to the preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but he did things which leave no doubt that he, as well as his successor, would have sanctioned them.

* Catena, Vita di Pio V., p. 85: “Pio si dolse del Conte che non havesse il comandamento di lui osservato d'ammazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani.”

How strange an union of singleness of purpose, magnanimity, austerity, and profound religious feeling, with sour bigotry, relentless hatred, and bloody zeal for persecution !

In this spirit lived and died Pius V.* When he felt the approach of death, he once more visited the seven churches, to bid farewell, as he said, to those sacred places ; three times he kissed the lowest steps of the Scala Santa. He had at one time promised not only to expend the whole treasures of the church, not excepting the chalices and crucifixes, on an expedition against England, but even to appear in person at the head of the army. On his way, some of the banished catholics of England presented themselves before him ; he said, “ he wished that he could pour forth his blood for them.” He spoke of the league as an affair of the highest moment ; he had left every thing in preparation which could ensure its success ; the last money that he issued was destined to this purpose.† The phantoms of these enterprises haunted him at his last moments. He had no doubt of their eventual success. “ God,” he said, “ will, of the stones, raise up the man necessary for this great work.”

If his loss was more felt than he himself had anticipated, yet a unity was established, a power was called into existence, which must of necessity be applied to the maintenance of the principles which he had recognised and adopted.

* He died on the 1st of May 1572.

† *Informatione dell' infermità di Pio V.*: “ Havendo in sua stanza in una cassetina 13^m. sc. per donare e fare elemosine di sua mano, due giorni avanti sua morte fece chiamare il depositario della camera e levarli, dicendo che sarien boni per la lega.”

BOOK IV.

VOL. 1.

C C

STATE AND COURT; THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH new and collected strength catholicism now advanced to the conflict with the protestant world.

If we institute a general comparison between these two great parties, we shall find that catholicism enjoyed an incalculable advantage, in possessing a common centre,—a leader who directed all its movements. The pope was not only able to unite the strength of the other catholic powers for one common effort, but he had a territory of his own sufficiently powerful to contribute materially to its success.

We have now to consider the States of the Church under a new aspect.

This dominion had arisen out of the attempts of the popes to raise their families to sovereign power, or to procure for themselves a supremacy over temporal rulers, particularly those of Italy. They had attained neither object, in the degree they had

desired, and it had now become for ever impossible to renew these attempts. A special law forbade the alienation of church property. The Spaniards were now far too powerful in Italy for the papal government to contend with. On the other hand, the state was become auxiliary to the church, and the financial resources which the former afforded, were of the highest importance to the general development of the papal power.

Before we proceed further it becomes necessary to investigate more closely the administration of the popes, in the form which it gradually assumed in the course of the 16th century.

§ 1. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

A WELL-SITUATED, rich and splendid province had fallen to the share of the popes.

The writers of the 16th century can scarcely find words to celebrate its fertility;—the fair plains around Bologna, and through all Romagna,—the loveliness combined with fertility along the skirts of the Apennines. “We travelled,” say the Venetian ambassadors in 1522, “from Macerata to Tolentino, through the most beautiful country; hills and valleys were covered with corn; for thirty miles nothing else was to be seen; we could find hardly a foot of uncultivated land; it appeared to us impossible to gather in such a quantity of grain, much more to find consumers for it.” Romagna yearly produced 40,000 stara of corn more than was necessary for its own

consumption: its produce was in great request, and after the hilly region about Urbino, Tuscany, and Bologna had been supplied, 35,000 stara were sometimes exported by sea: whilst, on the eastern coast, Venice was supplied from Romagna and the March*, on the western, Genoa, and sometimes even Naples, were provided with corn from the country round Viterbo, and the patrimony of St. Peter.

In one of his bulls of the year 1566, Pius V. boasts, as a proof of the divine favour, that whereas Rome in former times could not exist without foreign corn, she had now not only abundance for her own consumption, but had often been able to supply her neighbours and strangers, by land and by sea.† In the year 1589, the export of corn from the States of the Church was valued at 500,000 scudi a year.‡ The several districts were likewise famed for their peculiar productions: Perugia for its hemp,

* Badoer, *Relatione*, 1591. The friendship of Romagna for Venice was founded on the view, “quanto importa la vicinità di questa città, per ben vendere per l’ordinario le loro biade, vini, frutti, guadi et altre cose, riportandone all’ incontro boni danari.” (App. No. 60.)

† *Jurisdictio consulum artis agriculturæ urbis*:—9 Sept. 1566: Bullar. Cocquel. iv. ii. 314.

‡ Giovanni Gritti, *Relatione*, 1589: “La Romagna e la Marca sola si mette che alcune volte abbia mandato fuori 60^m. rubbia di grano e più di 30^m. di menudi. Il paese di Roma e lo stato di là dell’ Alpi quasi ogni anno somministra il viver al paese di Genova et altri luoghi circonvicini: onde dell’ uscita di grani e di biade dello Stato Ecclesiastico si tien per cosa certa che ogn’ anno entri in esso valente di 500^m. sc. almeno: nè all’ incontro ha bisogno di cose di fuori se non di poco momento et in poca stima, che sono specierie e cose da vestirsi di nobili e persone principali.” (App. No. 58.)

Faenza for its flax, Viterbo for both*; Cesena for its wine, which was exported, Rimini for oil, Bologna for woad, San Lorenzo for manna; the produce of the vineyards of Montefiascone was celebrated all over the world; the Campagna at that time produced a breed of horses little inferior to those of Naples; towards Nettuno and Terracina there was excellent hunting, especially of the wild boar; there were lakes abounding in fish; there were salt and alum works, and quarries of marble; in short everything which could contribute to the enjoyment of life was there produced in profusion.

Nor was this territory less favourably situated for commerce with the whole world. Ancona had a thriving trade. "It is a beautiful spot," say these same ambassadors of 1522, "full of merchants, chiefly Greeks and Turks: we were assured that some of them in former years had transacted business to the amount of 500,000 ducats." In the year 1549, we find there were two hundred Greek families, all merchants, settled there, and possessing a church of their own. The harbour was full of caravels from the Levant. There were, besides, Armenians and Turks, Florentines, people from Lucca and Venice, Jews from the east and the west. The wares which were here exposed for sale consisted of silks, wool, leather, lead from Flanders, and cloth. Luxury increased, the rent of houses rose, the fees to physicians and teachers were higher than at any preceding time.†

* Voyage de Montaigne, ii. 488.

† Saracini, Notizie istoriche della Città d'Ancona: Roma, 1675; p. 362.

But the inhabitants of the States of the Church were still more celebrated for their courage, than for the activity and talents for business of their merchants. We sometimes find them described according to the various characteristics they displayed:—the Perugians were reckoned sturdy in service; the inhabitants of Romagna, brave but improvident; those of Spoleto, fertile in stratagems of war; the Bolognese high-spirited, but difficult to keep under discipline; the inhabitants of the March, addicted to plunder: the Faentini excelled in steadiness under attack, and in the pursuit of a retreating enemy; the men of Forlì, in difficult manœuvres; those of Fermo in the management of the lance.* “The whole population,” says one of our Venetian authorities, “is skilled in warfare, and of a fierce nature; as soon as they leave their homes, these men are fit for every deed of war, whether in a siege or a field of battle. They bear with ease the toils and hardships of a campaign.”† The Venetians drew their best troops from the March and from Romagna, which rendered the friendship of the duke of Urbino so important to the republic; we always find officers in their service drawn from this district. It was said, however, that here were to be found captains for all the princes of the world; that from hence went forth that company of St. George

* Landi, *Quæstiones Forcianæ*: Neapoli, 1536: a book full of excellent and remarkable accounts of the state of Italy at that time.

† Soriano, 1571: “Quanto a soldati, è commune opinione, che nello stato della chiesa siano i migliori di tutto il resto d’Italia, anzi d’Europa.” (App. No. 42.)

with which Alberigo of Barbiano had exterminated the foreign mercenaries, and revived the fame of Italian arms. They were still the same race and stock of men who had once contributed so much to the establishment of the Roman empire.* In later times they have not maintained their claim to this high reputation; yet the last great captain who led them beyond the frontiers of their own country, gave them the unquestioned preference over all his Italian, and even a large portion of his French troops.

All these rich districts and this brave population were now subject to the peaceful, spiritual power of the pope. It remains to trace minutely the nature of the government which developed itself under the sovereign pontiffs.

This consisted, as in the Italian states generally, in the more or less strict limitation of the independence, which, in the course of the century, the municipalities had almost everywhere acquired.

Even during the 15th century, the priors of Viterbo, seated on their stone seats before the door of the town-hall, received the oath of the podestà sent to them by the pope or his representative.†

In 1463, the city of Fano, before putting itself under the immediate power of the Roman pontiff, made its own terms. It stipulated not only that it should remain an immediate subject for ever, but

* Lorenzo Priuli, *Relatione*, 1586: "Lo stato pieno di viveri per darne anco a popoli vicini, pieno di huomini bellicosi:"—he mentions the families of Genga, Carpagna, and Malatesta.—"Pareno tutti questi popoli nati et allevati nella militia. E molto presto si metteria insieme molto buona gente toccando il tamburo." (*App. No. 57.*)

† Feliciano Bussi, *Istoria di Viterbo*, p. 59.

also that it should enjoy the right to name its own podestà without the necessity of his appointment being confirmed ; freedom from all new taxes for twenty years, the advantages accruing from the sale of salt, and many other privileges.*

Even so despotic a ruler as Cæsar Borgia was compelled to bestow privileges upon the towns which constituted his principality : he surrendered to the town of Sinigaglia, revenues which had, till then, belonged to the sovereign.†

How much more imperative was the demand for such concessions on Julius II., whose ambition it was to appear in the character of a liberator ! Of his own accord he reminded the Perugians that he had spent the bloom of his youth within their walls. When he drove Baglione out of Perugia, he was satisfied to bring back the exiles, to restore their power to the peaceful magistracy, the *priori*, and to bestow higher salaries on the professors of the university : he made no inroad on the old liberties of the town. For a long time afterwards Sinigaglia paid no more than 2000 ducats a year in recognition of his sovereignty ; and even under Clement VII., I find a calculation of how many troops they could bring into the field, as if they were a completely free community.‡

Bologna felt the yoke as little, and in all times preserved not only the forms, but many important attributes of municipal independence : it possessed

* Amiani, *Memorie storiche della Città di Fano*, t. ii. p. 4.

† Siena, *Storia di Sinigaglia*, App. n. vi.

‡ Suriano, *Relatione di Fiorenza*, 1533.

complete control over the administration of its finances, had troops of its own, and paid a salary to the pope's legate.

During the Venetian war, Julius II. brought the towns of Romagna under his sway; but he annexed none of them to his dominions without entering into certain conditions, and granting new and settled privileges. In later times they always referred to the capitulations which they then made with him. They designated the political relation in which they stood to him under the title of "Ecclesiastical Freedom."*

As a whole, the state which was thus formed bore a considerable resemblance to the Venetian. In the one, as well as in the other, the powers of government had hitherto been in the hands of the communes, which had for the most part conquered and ruled over other smaller communities. Under the Venetians, these self-governing municipalities, without losing their independence on all points, had subjected themselves, under accurately defined conditions, to the power of the nobili of Venice. In the Ecclesiastical States, they were subject to the sovereignty of the curia; for in Rome the governing body was the court, whereas in Venice it was the aristocracy. It is true the dignity of the prelacy during the first half of this century was not an indispensable qualification for the most important offices; we find lay vice-legates in Perugia; in Romagna it appears to have been almost the rule

* Rainaldus mentions it, but very briefly. Concerning Ravenna, see Hieronymi Rubei Historiarum Ravennatum, lib. viii. p. 660.

that a lay president should be at the head of the administration.

In some instances laymen acquired the greatest power and influence, as for instance Jacopo Salviati, under Clement VII.; but even they belonged to the curia. They were dependents of the pope, and therefore members of that corporation. But at that time the towns did not like secular governors; they petitioned to have prelates, thinking it more honourable to obey the higher clergy. Compared with a German principality and its regularly organized government by estates, the Italian appears at first sight almost lawless; but in reality there was, even in the latter government, a remarkable distribution of powers and privileges. Thus the nobles of a city acted as a check on the administrative body, the citizens on the nobles, the subject on the governing communes, and the peasantry on the towns. It is remarkable that the idea of establishing provincial authorities seems hardly ever to have occurred in Italy. In the States of the Church it is true some provincial assemblies were held, and were even dignified with the highly significant name of parliaments; but it must have been contrary to the manners of the country and to the Italian character to bring such an institution to maturity, since these meetings never enjoyed any lasting influence.

But if the municipal constitution had fully developed itself, as was possible, and even appeared probable, it would, by limiting the powers of government on the one side, and the positive rights, the great power of the communes, and the number of indivi-

dual privileges on the other, have exhibited the principle of stability in its most striking form,—a constitution based on distinct and well-defined authorities and on mutual checks.

In the Venetian states considerable approaches to such a constitution were made ; in the States of the Church, far less.

This may be traced to the original difference in the forms of government. In Venice it was an hereditary, self-governing corporation, which looked upon the supreme power as their patrimony. The Roman curia was, on the contrary, a flux body, into which every new conclave infused new elements ; the countrymen of the successive popes always got a large portion of the public business into their hands. In Venice the election to every office was vested in the corporation itself ; in Rome it depended upon the favour of the sovereign pontiff. In the former, the rulers were held in check by severe laws, and vigilant inspection. In the latter, they were restrained less by fear of punishment than by hope of promotion (which depended chiefly on favour and affection), and enjoyed comparative freedom of action.

The papal government had likewise from its earliest beginning secured to itself a more independent position.

A remarkable result presents itself in this point of view, from a comparison of the grants of the Roman and Venetian states : this is apparent, among other instances, in the case of Faenza, which had surrendered itself to the Venetian state a few years before its subjection to Rome, and had made capitu-

lations with both powers.* Both times it had, for example, stipulated that no new tax should be levied without the consent of the majority of the council of Faenza: the Venetians had granted this without hesitation; but the pope added the reservation, "in as far as it may not appear advisable to do otherwise, for important and prudent reasons." I will not enlarge on this subject, as the same difference prevails throughout; it is sufficient that I point out one other proof of it. The Venetians had granted without hesitation, that all criminal judgments should be pronounced by the podestà and his court: the pope also granted the same privilege generally, but established one exception: "In cases of high treason, or crimes of a class calculated to cause popular irritation, the authority of the governor shall step in." It is evident that the papal government reserved to itself, from the very beginning, a much more active share of the sovereign power than the Venetian.†

It cannot be denied that on the other hand this burthen was rendered very easy to the pope.

In those times, the middle classes, consisting of the substantial citizens, the merchants and artisans of the subject cities, were peaceable and obedient; while the patricians, the nobles, who held in their

* *Historie di Faenza*, fatica di Giulio Cesare Tonduzzi, Faenza, 1675, contain, p. 569, the capitulations concluded with the Venetians, 1501, and confirmed by Julius II. in 1510.

† What means it used, Paul III. shows, when he says (1547): "Ceux qui viennent nouvellement au papat viennent pauvres, obligés de promesses, et la dépense qu'ils font pour s'asseurer dans les terres de l'église monte plus que le profit des premières années." *Le Cardinal de Guise au Roy de France*, in Ribier, ii. 77.

hands the municipal authority, were in a state of perpetual agitation and tumult. They carried on no trade; they cared little for agricultural pursuits; they were not devoted to intellectual improvement, or to the science of arms; their own feuds and animosities exclusively occupied their thoughts. The old factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines still existed; they had been kept alive by the late wars, during which victory fluctuated between the two parties: the families which belonged to either faction were well known. In Faenza, Ravenna, Forlì, the Ghibellines were the strongest; in Rimini, the Guelphs: nevertheless the weaker party still maintained itself in each of these towns: in Cesena and Imola the parties were nearly equal. In the midst of apparent peace a secret warfare was carried on; every man was occupied in keeping down his opponent of the other faction, and thrusting him into the background.* The chiefs had at their beck adherents in the lowest class; fierce determined men, wild and wandering bravoës, who of their own accord sought out those whom they knew to be in fear of enemies, or to have injuries to avenge: they were always ready to commit murder for gold.

The only effect of these universal feuds was, that as each party distrusted the other, and would not

* *Relazione della Romagna* (Bibl. Alt.): “Li nobili hanno seguito di molte persone, delle quali alcune volte si vagliono ne consigli per conseguire qualche carica o per se o per altri, per potere vincere o per impedire all' altri qualche richiesta: ne giudicii per provare et alcune volte per testificare nelle inimicitie per fare vendette, ingiurie: alcuni ancora a Ravenna, Imola e Faenza usavano di contrabbandare grano.” (App. No. 92.)

permit power to be lodged in its enemy's hands, the cities were less firm and vigilant in maintaining their privileges.

When the president or the legate came into the province, it was not asked whether he intended to observe their municipal rights ; the only question was, which party he would favour ; and when this was declared, the joy of the one party and the dejection of the other can hardly be described. The legate was obliged to act with great caution. The most influential men sought his intimacy, endeavoured to be agreeable to him, professed an intense zeal for the interests of the state, and acceded to all measures undertaken for the promotion of them ; but they often did all this only with a view to insinuate themselves into his favour and confidence, so as more effectually to injure and persecute the party which they hated.*

The barons in the country were in a somewhat different position. They were generally poor, but so prodigal and ambitious that they kept open house ; and, without an exception, their expenditure went beyond their means. They had always dependents in the towns, whom they frequently employed in the most lawless acts ; but their chief care was to maintain a good understanding with their peasantry, who always occupied the greater part of the soil, although they had no other wealth. In the southern

* *Relatione di Mons^{re} Rev^{mo} Giov. P. Ghisilieri, al P. Gregorio XIII., tornando egli dal presidentato di Romagna. (App. No. 47.)* It appears from Tonduzzi (*Historie di Faenza*, p. 673,) that Ghisilieri came into the province in 1578.

provinces, illustrious birth and gentle blood were held in great reverence, but distinction of ranks was not nearly so strongly marked as in the north, nor did it prevent the closest personal intimacy: the peasantry lived with the barons almost on the footing of brotherly subordination, and it was difficult to say whether the tenants were more willing to render obedience and service, or the barons support and assistance; there was something patriarchal in their connexion.* One reason for this, among others, was, that the barons sought above all things to avoid giving their vassals cause to appeal to the government. They were determined never to recognise the feudal sovereignty claimed by the holy see. The vassals imagined that the claim asserted by the pope's legate, of deciding not alone upon the appeal but upon the original proceeding, was not so much a right, as the consequence of an unlucky political conjuncture which would speedily pass away.

Here and there were to be found, particularly in Romagna, independent communities of peasants.† They were large clans, deriving their descent from a common stock; lords in their own villages, all armed, well skilled in the use of the arquebus, generally half savage: they may be compared with the

* *Relatione della Romagna*: "Essendosi aggiustati gli uni all' humore degli altri."

† The peasants had often shaken off the dominion of the towns in the same manner. *Ghisilieri*: "Scossi da quel giogo e recati quasi corpo diverso da quelle città [e. g. Forlì, Cesena] si governano con certe loro leggi separate sotto il governo d'un protettore eletto da loro medesimi, li quali hanno amplissima autorità di far le resolutioni necessarie per li casi occorrenti alli contadini." (*App. No. 47.*)

free Greek or Sclavonian communities, which maintained their independence under the Venetians, or reconquered it, when lost, from the Turks ; such, for example, as were found in Candia, the Morea and Dalmatia. In the States of the Church, they sided with the different factions : the Cavinasi, Scardocci and Solaroli were Ghibellines ; the Manbelli, Cerroni and Serrasi were Guelphs. There was a hill in the territory of the Serrasi which served as an asylum for those who had committed any crime. The most powerful of all were the Cerroni, who also stretched over the frontier into the Florentine territory. This clan had split into two branches—Rinaldi and Ravagli,—which, in spite of their affinity, were in a state of constant feud. They were in a kind of hereditary connexion not only with the chief families of the cities, but also with lawyers, who supported one or the other faction in their litigations. In the whole of Romagna there was no family so powerful that it could not have been easily harmed by these peasants. The Venetians always had a military commander among them, in order to be sure of their assistance in case of war.

Had all this population been united, it would have been difficult for the Roman prelates to assert their authority ; but their divisions strengthened the government. In the report of a president of Romagna to Pope Gregory XIII., I find these words : “ The business of governing is difficult where the people hold well together ; when divided, they are easily mastered.”*

* Ghisilieri : “ Siccome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina, così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito.”

A party also formed itself in these provinces, favourable to the government; it consisted of the peaceable part of the population, who wished for quiet; that middle class which was not infected with the rage of faction. In Fano they entered into an association, called the 'holy union;' compelled thereto, as the original record of this institution states, "because the whole city was full of robbery and murder, and not only those who took part in the feuds were insecure, but also those who desired nothing but to eat their bread in the sweat of their brow." They bound themselves by an oath in the church, as brothers for life and death, to maintain the peace of the city and to exterminate those who disturbed it.* The government favoured them, and allowed them to carry arms, and we meet with them throughout Romagna under the name of the 'pacifici.' They gradually formed a kind of plebeian magistracy. The government had also adherents among the peasants; the Manbelli joined the court of the legate, they captured banditti, and guarded the frontiers, — services which gave them no small influence.† The jealousy of neighbours, the hostility between the country villages and the cities,

* It resembles the Hermandad. Amiani, *Memorie di Fano*, ii. 146, contains their formula, grounded on the sentence: "Beati pacifici, quia filii Dei vocabuntur." Hence may have arisen their name in other towns.

† According to the *Relatione della Romagna*, they likewise gave themselves the name of *Huomini da Schieto*, after the place of their abode:—"Huomini," it says, "che si fanno molto riguardare, sono Guelfi: la corte di Romagna si è valuta dell'opera loro molto utilmente, massime in havere in mano banditi et in ovviare alle fraudi che si fanno in estrarre bestiami dalle montagne." (App. No. 92.)

and various other internal evils, came to the assistance of the government.

And thus, instead of that respect for law, that quiet and stability, which this institution appeared calculated to produce, we find restless strife of factions, interference of the government whenever these were in a state of dissension, opposition of the municipal bodies whenever they were united ; —might instead of right,—might opposed to right ; —every individual trying how far he could carry his defiance to law.

Even under Leo X., the Florentines, who had the management of affairs chiefly in their hands, exercised the rights of the curia in a most oppressive manner. Deputations from the cities repaired one after the other to Rome, seeking redress of their grievances. Ravenna declared it would rather voluntarily surrender to the Turks than endure the continuance of such a government.* Very often, during the vacancies of the holy see, the ancient nobles returned to power, and were with difficulty driven back from it by the new pope. On the other hand, the cities dreaded being again alienated from the papal crown.

Sometimes a cardinal, or a dependent of the pope, or a neighbouring prince, offered a sum of money to the papal treasury for the right of govern-

* Marino Zorzi, *Relatione di 1517*: “Le terre di Romagna è in gran combustione e desordine: li vien fatta poca justitia: e lui orator ha visto tal x man di oratori al cardinal di Medici, che negotia le facende lamentandosi di mali portamenti fanno quelli rettori loro.” (App. No. 7.)

ing one of these towns. Hence the towns had agents and delegates at Rome whose business it was to learn every plan of this sort as soon as formed, and to defeat its execution. In this they generally succeeded; but it sometimes happened that they were obliged to use force against the papal authorities, and even against the pope's troops. In nearly all the histories of these places is to be found some instance of lawless violence. In Faenza, on one occasion, in the summer of 1521, the Swiss guards of Leo and the citizens engaged in a regular battle in the very streets: the Swiss succeeded in rallying in the piazza, but finding all outlets from it barricaded by the citizens, they were glad, when one was opened to them, to be suffered to depart without injury. For many years afterwards this day was celebrated in Faenza with religious solemnities and rejoicings.*

On the 25th Nov. 1528, the inhabitants of Jesi, a town of comparatively small importance, had the courage to attack the palace of their vice-governor, who had demanded certain marks of honour which they refused to pay him; the citizens and the peasants united, and took into pay a hundred Albanians who happened to be in the neighbourhood. The vice-governor and his suite took to flight. "My native city," says the chronicler of this town, otherwise a most devout catholic, "which now saw itself restored to its original freedom, determined to celebrate the anniversary of this day at the public expense."†

* Tonduzzi, *Historie de Faenza*, p. 609.

† Baldassini, *Memorie istoriche dell' antichissima Città di Jesi*; Jesi, 1744, p. 256.

From such acts of violence nothing could arise, as may be imagined, but new excesses, new punishments, and a still further limitation of their privileges. The government seized on the pretext afforded by such incidents for annihilating the privileges of towns which still possessed important remains of their former freedom, and for reducing them to complete subjection. Ancona and Perugia are remarkable examples of this result.

Ancona merely paid the pope a small yearly tribute in recognition of his sovereignty; the inadequacy of which appeared the more striking in proportion as the town increased. The court estimated the revenue of Ancona at 50,000 scudi, and thought it intolerable that the nobles there should share so large a sum amongst themselves. As the city not only refused to pay new taxes, but took forcible possession of a castle to which it laid claim, it came to an open rupture with Rome. The mode in which the governments of that day enforced their claims is worthy of remark;—the papal officers drove away the cattle from the March of Ancona, as a means of levying the amount of the new tax; a measure which went under the name of reprisals.

This did not satisfy Clement VII. He only waited for a favourable opportunity to make himself completely master of Ancona; this opportunity he employed a stratagem to create.

He caused a fort to be built in that city; alleging that the Turks, after their successes in Egypt and Rhodes, and throughout the Mediterranean, would without doubt shortly attack Italy, and that there

would be great danger in leaving Ancona, where so many Turkish merchant ships always lay, without defence. He sent Antonio Sangallo to construct the fort; the works proceeded most rapidly, and very shortly a small garrison took possession of it. This was the very moment the pope waited for: affairs being thus far advanced, in September 1532, the governor of the March, monsignore Bernardino della Barba, a priest, but of a warlike character, appeared in the district of Ancona at the head of a formidable army which the jealousy of the neighbouring cities had assembled; took one of the gates of the city, marched into the piazza, and drew up his troops in front of the palace; the Anziani, but lately chosen by lot, dwelt here, perfectly unsuspecting, and surrounded with the badges of the supreme power. Monsignore della Barba entered with his military followers, and declared without much preamble, that "the pope desired to have the absolute government of Ancona in his own hands." They could oppose no resistance. The young nobles brought in from the country, in all haste, a few bands of devoted retainers. But what could be done, since the papal troops were prepared against all chances by the new fortress? The elder nobles would not subject their city to the risk of pillage and destruction; they yielded to what was inevitable.

The Anziani left the palace: in a short time appeared the new papal legate, Benedetto delli Accolti, who had promised the apostolical treasury 20,000 scudi a year as government dues from Ancona.

A complete revolution was effected. All arms

were commanded to be delivered up, and sixty-four of the principal nobles were exiled; new lists of names for the magistracies were made; some of the offices under government were distributed among the inhabitants of the country, and persons who were not noble. Justice was no longer administered according to the old statutes.

Woe to him who offered any opposition to these orders! Some leading men brought on themselves a suspicion of being engaged in a conspiracy: they were immediately seized, sentenced, and beheaded; the following day a carpet was spread in the market-place, the bodies laid upon it, and a burning torch placed near each; thus they remained the whole day.

Paul III. indeed subsequently granted the inhabitants of Ancona some alleviation of their yoke, but this act of favour implied no diminution of his absolute power; he was little inclined to restore their ancient liberties*; on the contrary, he made use of this same Bernardino della Barba as an instrument for depriving another of his cities of its privileges.

The pope had raised the price of salt by one half. The Perugians considered themselves justified by their privileges in resisting this impost. The pope having excommunicated them, the citizens assembled in the churches, and elected a body of magistrates called the 'twenty-five defenders.' They laid the keys of their gates at the foot of a cruci-

* Saracinelli, *Notizie storiche della Città d'Ancona*; Roma, 1675, ii. xi. p. 335.

fix in the market-place. Both parties armed themselves.

The revolt of so important a city against the papal authority excited a general agitation, and would have produced serious consequences, had there been war in any other part of Italy; but, as all was tranquil, no state could render it the assistance on which it had reckoned. For although Perugia was not without power, yet it was not nearly strong enough to enable it to resist the army of ten thousand Italians and three thousand Spaniards, brought against it by Pier-Luigi Farnese. The government of the twenty-five too displayed more arbitrariness and violence, than prudence or care for the protection of the city; they were not even prepared with money to pay the troops which a member of the house of Baglione brought to their assistance; their only ally, Ascanio Colonna, who also resisted the payment of this same impost, contented himself with driving off the cattle from the territory of the church; he could not resolve to render them any more serious assistance.

This city therefore, after a short interval of freedom, was compelled again to surrender to the pope on the 3d of June, 1540. Habited in long mourning garments, with halters round their necks, the delegates appeared in the portico of St. Peter's and implored pardon at the feet of the pope. This he granted, but their freedom was gone; he stripped them of all their privileges.

Bernardino della Barba was sent to Perugia, to deal with that city in the same manner as with An-

cona. No man was allowed to possess arms; the chains which had been thrown across the streets were removed, the houses of the twenty-five, who had escaped in time, were razed to the ground, a fortress was erected on the spot where the Baglioni had lived, and the citizens were compelled to pay the cost of its erection: a magistrate was placed over them, whose name suffices to show the purpose of his appointment;—he was called the ‘conservator of ecclesiastical obedience.’ A later pope restored to him the title of prior, but without any of his ancient powers.*

Ascanio Colonna was likewise driven from all his strongholds by the same army.

The papal authority in the States of the Church was incalculably augmented by these repeated and successful blows: neither the towns nor the barons ventured any longer to offer resistance; one after another, the free communities submitted, and the pope was able to dispose of all the resources of the country for the attainment of his own objects.

We will now inquire what were these objects, and what the mode of accomplishing them.

* Mariotti, *Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia e suo contado*; Perugia, 1806; relates these events in detail, and on authentic information; i. p. 113—160. He also mentions them again; e. g. vol. iii. p. 634.

§ 2. FINANCES.

It is however necessary first to examine into the system of the papal finances, a system which is important, not only in reference to the country in which it originated, but on account of the example it afforded to all Europe.

It is remarkable that the system of exchanges prevailing in the middle ages, chiefly owed its form to the nature of the papal revenues, which were drawn from every country and remitted from all parts to the curia; and it is not less remarkable that the system of national debt which at this moment prevails, and exercises so powerful an influence on the dealings of men, should have first grown up in the Papal States.

However just were the complaints of the extortions which prevailed in Rome during the 15th century, it is certain that but little of the money raised found its way into the coffers of the pope. Pius II. commanded the obedience of all Europe, notwithstanding which he was at one time so greatly in want of money, that he was compelled to limit himself and his establishment to one meal a day; he was forced to borrow the 200,000 ducats requisite for the Turkish war which he meditated. Those petty expedients to which many popes resorted, such as requiring from a prince, a bishop, or a grand master who had some cause pending in the court, a present of a golden cup filled with ducats, of rich furs, or the like, only show the miserable state of the

treasury.* The money certainly reached the court in considerable sums, although not in those enormous masses which people have imagined; but when there, it passed into a thousand hands, and was absorbed by those offices which had long been saleable. These offices were chiefly paid by means of fees, and little restraint was imposed on the exactions of the officials. The papal treasury received nothing more than the price of the office, when it became vacant.

The pope was driven to extraordinary expedients whenever he undertook any costly enterprise; hence jubilees and indulgences were a most valuable resource. The docility of the faithful then afforded a clear revenue. Another means very naturally suggested itself, whenever he wanted to raise an unusually large sum, viz. the creation and sale of new offices,—a strange sort of loan, the interest of which the church paid by increasing its own imposts. This custom had long obtained footing. According to an authentic register in the Chigi palace, there existed in the year 1471 nearly 650 saleable offices, the incomes of which amounted to about 100,000 scudi.† These were chiefly procurators, registrars,

* Voigt, *Voices from Rome concerning the Papal Court in the Fifteenth Century*, given in the *Historisches Taschenbuch* of F. von Raumer, 1833, contains a crowd of notices on this subject. Whoever has at hand the book, *Silesia vor und seit dem Jahre 1740*, will find in it a satire of the 15th century, by no means ill done, on this monstrous custom of present giving: "*Passio domini papæ secundum marcam auri et argenti.*"

† *Gli ufficii piu antichi*: MS. *Bibliotheca Chigi*, N. ii. 50. There are 651 places and 98,340 sc. "*fin alla creatione di Sisto IV.*" So little truth is there in what Onuphrius Panvinus says, that Sixtus IV. was the first who sold them; p. 348.

abbreviators, correctors, notaries, clerks, even messengers and doorkeepers, whose increasing numbers continually raised the costs of a bull or a brief. This was indeed the very purpose for which they were appointed, for their duties amounted to little or nothing.

We can easily conceive that the succeeding popes, deeply implicated as they were in the politics of Europe, seized with avidity upon so easy an expedient for filling their coffers. Sixtus IV. adopted the plan proposed by his prothonotary Sinolfo, and established at once whole colleges, the places in which were sold for two or three hundred ducats each. These bore the most singular titles; for instance the ‘college of a hundred janissaries,’ who were nominated for 100,000 ducats, and whose salaries were charged upon the profits arising from the bulls and annates.* The places of notary, prothonotary, and procurator to the camera,—indeed all offices whatsoever,—were sold by Sixtus IV., who carried this system to such an extent as to have been accounted its author, and it certainly was not completely adopted till his time. Innocent VIII., whose embarrassments forced him to pawn even the papal tiara, founded a new college of twenty-six secretaries, for 60,000 scudi, with a complement of other officers. Alexander VI. created eighty writers of briefs, each

* There were also Stradiotes and Mamelukes, who were however suppressed at a later period. “*Adstipulatores, sine quibus nullæ possent confici tabulæ:*” Onuphrius Panvinus. According to the register, (*Ufficii Antichi*,) this creation seems to have brought in only 40,000 ducats.

of whom paid 750 scudi for his appointment; and Julius II. added, upon the same terms, one hundred writers of archives.

But the sources from which these hundreds of placemen drew their incomes were not inexhaustible. We have already seen that nearly all the christian states had attempted, and in most instances successfully, to limit the interference of the papal power, and this too at a time when the popes had been involved in unusual expenses by their great undertakings. It was therefore most fortunate for them that they became masters of a territory from which, though their government was at first a mild one, they drew considerable revenues; and it cannot surprise us that these were administered in precisely the same manner as were the ecclesiastical funds.

Julius II., in addition to the assignment made upon the annates, also quartered the above-mentioned writers of archives upon the dogana and the public chest. He established a college, consisting of a hundred and forty-one presidents of the annona, all of whom were paid by the state. He applied the surplus land-revenue in making loans. The quality of this pope which most excited the admiration of other princes was, his power of raising as much money as he wished; and indeed this was in a great degree the basis of his policy.

The necessities of Leo X. were much more urgent than those of Julius, as the former was not less involved in wars, while he was far more prodigal, and more dependent upon the political support of his family. "It was as impossible for the pope," says

Francesco Vettori of him, “ever to keep 1000 ducats together, as for a stone to fly into the air of itself.” He has been accused of squandering the incomes of three popes; that of his predecessor—from whom he inherited a large treasure—his own, and his successor’s, to whom he bequeathed a mass of debts. Leo was not satisfied with selling the existing offices, he raised a large sum by nominating additional cardinals; and having once entered on the course of creating new offices for the mere purpose of selling them, he proceeded in it with daring pertinacity. Above 1200 were created by him alone.* The characteristic of all these ‘portionarii,’ ‘scudieri,’ and ‘cavalieri di S. Pietro’—or whatever other titles they bore,—is that they paid a sum down on their nomination, and received the interest of it for life under these titles; their offices had no other meaning than the enjoyment of this interest, increased by some other small privileges; they were in fact nothing more than a kind of life annuity. The sale of these produced to Leo the sum of 900,000 scudi. The interest, which was high, as it yearly amounted to an eighth of the capital †, was partly produced by a slight augmentation of church dues;

* *Sommario di la Relation di M. Minio, 1520*: “non ha contanti, perchè è liberal, non sa tenir danari: poi li Fiorentini, (che) si fanno e sono soi parenti, non li lassa mai aver un soldo: e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perchè in ogni cosa è Fiorentini.” (App. No. 8.)

† The 612 *portionarii di ripa*—aggiunti al Collegio dei Presidenti—paid 286,200, and received 38,816 ducats a year: the 400 *cavalieri di S. Pietro* paid 400,000, and received in return 50,610 ducats a year.

but it chiefly flowed from the treasuries of the conquered provinces ; that is, from the surplus of the municipal administrations paid into the coffers of the state, from the produce of the alum works, the sale of salt, and the dogana of Rome. Leo increased the number of offices to 2150, the yearly salaries of which were reckoned to amount to 320,000 scudi, and were a burden upon both church and state.

However censurable this prodigality, Leo was doubtless encouraged in it by finding that it produced, for the time, advantageous rather than mischievous effects. It was partly owing to this system of finance that Rome, at the period in question, rose to such an unexampled height of prosperity, since there was no place in the world where capital could be invested to so much advantage. The multitude of new offices, the vacancies, and consequent re-appointments, kept up a continual stir in the curia, and held out to all the prospect of easy advancement.

Another consequence was, that there was no necessity for burdening the public with new taxes ; it is indisputable that the States of the Church compared with other provinces, and Rome with other cities, in Italy, were charged with the smallest amount of taxation. The Romans had already been told that whilst other cities furnished to their princes heavy loans and vexatious taxes, their master, the pope, on the contrary, made his subjects rich. A secretary of Clement VII., who shortly afterwards wrote an account of the conclave in which that pope was elected, expresses his astonishment that the Roman people were not more devoted to the holy see, since

they suffered so little from taxation. "From Terracina to Piacenza," he exclaims, "the church possesses a large and fair portion of Italy ; her dominion stretches out far and wide : nevertheless all these fertile lands and rich cities, which under any other government would be taxed for the maintenance of large armies, pay scarcely enough to the Roman pontiff to cover the expenses of their own administration."*

It was evident, however, that this could only last as long as there remained a surplus in the public treasury. Leo had not yet succeeded in funding all his loans. Aluise Gaddi had advanced to him 32,000 ducats ; Bernardo Bini 200,000. Salviati, Ridolfi, all his servants and dependents, had done their utmost to raise money for him ; they founded their hopes of future compensation and gratitude, upon his generosity and his youth. They were utterly ruined by his early death.

Leo left his dominions in a state of exhaustion which his successor was not long in feeling.

The universal hatred which attached itself to the unfortunate Adrian, was chiefly owing to the measure he adopted of imposing a direct tax to relieve the extreme poverty to which he found himself re-

* Vianesius Alberghatus, *Commentarii Rerum sui temporis* (nothing in fact but the description of the conclave): "opulentissimi populi et ditissimæ urbes, quæ, si alterius ditionis essent, suis vectigalibus vel magnos exercitus alere possent, Romano pontifici vix tantum tributum pendunt, quantum in prætorum magistratuumque expensam sufficere queat." In the Narrative by Zorzi, 1517, the revenue drawn from Perugia, Spoleto, the March and Romagna, is reckoned, after a calculation by Francesco Armellino,

duced :—a hearth tax of half a ducat was imposed*; which was the more unpopular inasmuch as the Romans were little accustomed to such exactions.

Nor could Clement VII. avoid levying new taxes: murmurs were raised against cardinal Armellino, who was regarded as the suggestor of these imposts, which were of an indirect kind; the augmentation of the duties levied at the gates on articles of food, caused peculiar discontent, but the people were obliged to bear it.† Indeed, affairs were come to such a pass, that far stronger measures were imperiously demanded.

Hitherto, loans had been raised under the form of saleable offices; the financial transactions of Clement VII. seem first to have approximated to genuine loans, at the important crisis when, in 1526, he took arms against Charles V.

On the former plan, the capital sunk in the purchase of the office was lost upon the death of the party, unless the family recovered it from the papal treasury. Now, however, Clement raised a capital of 200,000 ducats, which, though not yielding so to amount to 120,000 ducats. The half of this fell to the papal treasury. “Di quel somma la mità è per terra per pagar i legati et altri officii, e altra mità ha il papa.” Unfortunately there is no small number of mistakes in the copy of the Narrative in Sanuto. (App. No. 7.)

* Hieronymo Negro a Marc Antonio Micheli, 7 April, 1523: *Lettere di Principi*, i. p. 114.

† Foscarì, *Relatione*, 1526: “E qualche murmuration in Roma etiam per causa del cardinal Armellin, qual truova nuove invention per trovar danari in Roma, e fa metter nove angarie, e fino, chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar paga tanto: la qual angaria importa da duc. 2500.” (App. No. 17.)

high a rate of interest as the places, still paid a considerable one, viz. ten per cent., which, moreover, went to the heirs. This is a 'monte non vacabile'—the 'monte della fede.' The interest was charged upon the dogana; and the monte was rendered more secure by giving a share in the management of the dogana to the creditors. It appears, however, that the old form was not wholly abandoned; the montists constituted a college; a few undertakers of the loan paid the whole amount into the treasury, and then disposed of the shares among the members of the college.

May it not be said, that the state creditors, in so far as they had claims upon the public revenue and on the produce of the labour of the community, acquired a sort of share in the government? At any rate so the matter appeared to be understood in Rome, and no capitalist would lend his money without the form of such participation.

This however was, as will appear, the commencement of the most extensive financial operations.

Paul III. proceeded in them with moderation. He contented himself with reducing the interest of the 'monte Clementino;' and as he succeeded in making new assignments of it, he raised the capital by one half. He did not establish any new monte, but the creation of six hundred new offices amply indemnified him for this forbearance. The measures by which he rendered himself remarkable in the financial history of the papal dominions, were of a different character.

We have already seen what excitement was pro-

duced by his increase of the salt duty ; this he consequently abandoned, but instead of it, he introduced the direct tax of the ‘*sussidio*,’ with the most solemn promise that it should not be permanent. This is the same tax, which, under different names, was at that time levied in so many of the southern states ; in Spain it was called the ‘*servicio*,’ in Naples, the ‘*donativo*,’ and in Milan, the ‘*mensuale*.’ In the States of the Church it was originally introduced for three years, and fixed at the sum of 300,000 scudi. The contribution of each province was sent to Rome ; the provincial parliaments met to apportion the contingents of the various cities, which were again subdivided between the several cities and the rural population of their dependencies. It included everybody ; the bull expressly ordered that all the lay subjects of the Roman church, even those enjoying exemptions and privileges, marquises, barons, feudal tenants and official persons not excepted, should be rated to this contribution.*

The ‘*sussidio*’ however was not paid without vehement complaints, particularly when it was perceived that it was extended from one period of three years to another ; indeed it was never abolished, but was always imperfectly collected.† The inhabitants of Bologna, which had been assessed at 30,000 scudi, were prudent enough to buy their

* Bullar. In the year 1537, he declares to the French ambassador, “ la débilité du revenu de l’ église [and consequently of the state,] dont elle n’avait point maintenant 40^m. escus de rente par an de quoi elle puisse faire estat.” Ribier, i. 69.

† Bull: Decens esse censemus : 5 Sept., 1543 : Bull. Cocq. iv. i. 225.

exemption for ever, by paying a large sum down ; Parma and Piacenza were alienated from the holy see, and paid no more ; Fano affords an example of what occurred in other towns. Under the pretext of being rated too high, this town refused for some time to pay its contingent, and Paul III. on one occasion was induced to remit the payment of the instalments due, but on condition that the amount should be applied to the repair of the fortifications ; a third of the contribution was afterwards remitted for the same purpose. Nevertheless, the descendants of these same men continued to complain that they were assessed too highly ; the rural districts incessantly murmured at the contingent they were obliged by the town to contribute ; they endeavoured to free themselves from the dominion of the town council, and, as that body asserted its sovereignty, they would gladly have placed themselves under the protection of the duke of Urbino. It would lead us too far from our subject, were we to follow out the conflict of these petty interests. It is sufficient for our purpose to see how it came to pass that not above one half of the ‘*sussidio*’ actually found its way into the treasury.* In 1560, the whole produce of this tax was estimated at 165,000 scudi.

* Bull of Paul IV.: *Cupientes Indemnitati* ; 15 April, 1559 : Bullar. Cocq. iv. i. 358 : “ *Exactio, causantibus diversis exceptionibus libertatibus et immunitatibus a solutione ipsius subsidii diversis communitatibus et universitatibus et particularibus personis nec non civitatibus terris oppidis et locis Nostri Status Ecclesiastici concessis, et factis diversarum portionum ejusdem subsidii donationibus seu remissionibus, vix ad dimidium summæ trecentorum millium scutorum hujusmodi ascendit.*”

Be this as it may, this pope had greatly raised the revenues of the Ecclesiastical States; under Julius II., these were estimated at 350,000, under Leo at 420,000, under Clement VII., in the year 1526, at 500,000 scudi. Immediately after the death of Paul III., we learn from an authentic report which the Venetian minister Dandolo procured from the treasury, that they amounted to 706,473 scudi.

Nevertheless his successors did not find themselves much the richer. In one of his instructions, Julius III. complains that his predecessor had completely alienated the revenue, (doubtless with the exception of the 'sussidio,' which could not be alienated, as it was nominally granted only for three years,) and besides this, had left behind him a floating debt of 500,000 scudi.*

In spite of this state of things, however, Julius III. entered into a war with the French and the Farnesi, and thus plunged the country into the greatest embarrassments. Although the imperialists paid him, for those times at least, a considerable subsidy, his letters contain the bitterest complaints. "He had expected to raise 100,000 scudi in Ancona,—of this he had not received 100,000 bajocchi; instead of 120,000 scudi from Bologna, he had only received 50,000. The promises of the Genoese and Lucchese money-changers were recalled almost as soon as made; whoever possessed a carline, held it back, and would not speculate with it."†

* *Instruttione per voi Monsignore d' Imola, ultimo d iMarzo, 1551*: *Informationi Polit.*, vol. xii.

† Il Papa, a Giovamb. di Monte, 2 April, 1552.

The pope was compelled to resort to more energetic measures, if he wished to keep his army on foot; he therefore determined to establish a new monte, and this he did on a plan which was almost invariably imitated in later times. He laid a new tax of two carlines upon every rubbio of flour; this produced, after all charges of collection, the sum of 30,000 scudi, which was assigned to pay the interest of a capital forthwith raised: this was the origin of the 'monte della farina.' We must observe how nearly similar this is to the earlier financial operations: in exactly the same manner as, at a former period, new ecclesiastical offices were created, and the salaries assigned upon the revenues of the curia (revenues which it was the object of the measure to increase), for the sole purpose of raising the sum required for immediate use, by the sale of these places; so the income of the state was now augmented by means of a new impost, which only served to pay the interest of a large capital that could not otherwise have been obtained.

All succeeding popes followed in the same track; sometimes these 'monti' were 'non vacabili,' like that of Clement; at other times they were 'vacabili,' that is, the obligation to pay interest ceased on the death of the creditor; the interest was, in this case, higher, and the collegiate character given to the montists approached more nearly to that of holders of saleable offices. Paul IV. established the 'monte novennale de' frati,' on an impost levied upon the regular monastic orders; Pius IV. laid a tax of a quatrino upon every pound of meat, with which

he founded the 'monte Pio non vacabile,' which produced about 170,000 scudi. Pius V. added another quatrino upon every pound of meat, and upon this established the 'monte lega.'

By keeping the development of this system in view, we acquire a more distinct and precise idea of the character of the Ecclesiastical States. What were the necessities which compelled the popes to resort to this extraordinary mode of raising loans, which burthened their territory with such an immediate weight of taxation? We answer, chiefly the necessities of catholicism. As the time for giving effect to the purely political views of the papacy was past, there remained only the ecclesiastical, which could be pursued with any prospect of success. The support of catholic powers in their contests with protestants and their enterprises against the Turks, was now almost invariably the proximate cause of new financial operations. The monte of Pius V. was called the 'monte lega,' because the money produced by it was intended for the Turkish war which that pope undertook, in conjunction with Spain and Venice. We shall find this to be more and more the case. Every commotion in Europe affected the States of the Church in this manner. On almost every occasion, Rome was obliged to contribute to the defence of ecclesiastical interests by some new burthen on her own subjects. Hence the possession of a state, and the command of its resources, was so important to the ecclesiastical position of the popes.

But they did not rest satisfied with the funds produced by the monti; they continued the old practice of creating new offices, or 'cavalierate,'

with peculiar privileges ; whether it was that the salaries were, as before, covered by new taxes, or that the remarkable diminution in the value of money, which took place at that time, caused larger sums to flow into the treasury.*

Hence it happened that the revenue of the popes, with the exception of a short falling off under Paul IV., in consequence of the war he was engaged in, was constantly on the increase. Even under Paul it rose again to 700,000 scudi, and under Pius it was reckoned at 898,482 scudi. Paolo Tiepolo expresses his astonishment, in 1576, after an absence of nine years, at finding the revenue increased by the sum of 200,000 scudi, and amounting in the whole to 1,100,000 scudi.† It is a curious fact, but an inevitable consequence of the system, that the popes did not in reality receive more money. The alienations increased in proportion to the taxes. It was reckoned that under Julius III., the sum of 54,000 scudi, under Paul IV., 45,960, and under Pius IV., who hesitated at nothing, the sum of 182,550 scudi, was alienated from the public revenue. Pius IV. raised the number of saleable offices to three thousand five hundred, exclusive, of course, of the monti, which were not reckoned among the offices.‡ Under this pope the total amount of the alienated funds rose to 450,000 scudi, and was constantly on the increase, so that in the year

* Thus, about the year 1580, many ‘luoghi di monte’ stood at 100, instead of 130: the interest of the ‘vacabili’ was reduced from 14 to 9, which effected a great saving on the whole.

† App. No. 45.

‡ Lista degli Ufficii della Corte Romana, 1560: Chigi Library, No. ii. 50. Many other separate lists of different years.

1576, it amounted to 530,000 scudi. Thus, whatever was the increase in the revenue, these alienations swallowed up nearly one half of it.*

The accounts of the papal revenues in these times present a remarkable aspect. At every article, after the sums have been specified which the farmers of the revenue had contracted to pay (the contracts with whom were usually made for a period of nine years), it is also stated how much was alienated. The dogana of Rome, for example, yielded in 1576, and the following years, the large sum of 133,000 scudi, of which, however, 111,170 were assigned, and, after other deductions, the treasury actually received only 13,000 scudi. Some taxes upon corn, meat, and wine were completely lost to the state, and were wholly absorbed by the payment of the monti. From many provincial chests, called treasuries, which also had to meet the exigencies of the provinces,—for example, from the March and from Camerino—the papal treasury received not a single bajocco, and yet the sussidio was often applied to the same purpose. Such large sums were secured upon the alum works of Tolfa, which had formerly always been reckoned upon as a source of revenue, that there was actually a deficit of 2000 scudi.†

The pope's personal expenses and those of his establishment were chiefly charged upon the data-

* Tiepolo reckons that, besides 100,000 scudi for services, 270,000 were spent on fortifications and legations; the pope had thus 200,000 still left free. He calculates that, under the pretext of the necessities of the Turkish war, the popes had received 1,800,000 scudi, and as yet, had only applied 340,000 to that use.

† E. G. Entrata della Reverenda Camera Apostolica sotto il Pontificato di N. S. Gregorio XIII., fatta nell' Anno 1576. MS. Gothana, No. 219.

ria, which possessed two distinct sources of income. The one was ecclesiastical, produced by compositions or fixed fines, on payment of which the datario permitted various canonical irregularities, on the translation from one benefice to another. This source of profit Paul IV. had greatly diminished by the strictness of his measures, but it gradually increased again. The other was rather of a temporal nature; it arose from the vacancies, and consequent new appointments to the ‘cavalierate,’ saleable offices, and places in the ‘monti vacabili;’ and it increased in proportion to the number of these appointments.* Both together, however, did not amount, in 1570, to more than sufficient to cover the daily expenses of the pope’s household.

This course of things completely altered the position of the Roman State, which, from having been celebrated as the least burthened among the Italian states, now suffered as much or more from taxation than any other†, and the inhabitants complained loudly. Little remained of their former municipal independence. The administration gradually became more uniform. The powers of government were, in earlier times, frequently delivered over to some favourite cardinal or prelate, who turned them to his

* According to Mocenigo, 1560, the dataria, at an earlier period, produced between 10,000 and 14,000 ducats monthly. Under Paul IV., it fell to between 3000 and 4000. (App. No. 31.)

† Paolo Tiepolo, *Relatione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. e Pio V.*, at that time says, “L’impositione allo Stato Ecclesiastico è gravezza quasi insopportabile per essere per diversi altri conti molto aggravato; — — — d’alienare più entrate della chiese, non vi è più ordine, perche quasi tutte l’entrate certe si trovano già alienate e sopra l’incerto non si trovaria chi desse danari.” (App. No. 41.)

own profit. The countrymen of the popes—for example, the Florentines under the Medici, the Neapolitans under Paul IV., and the Milanese under Pius IV.—then always enjoyed the best places; this system was abolished by Pius V. These favourites had never themselves carried on the government committed to their charge, but had always left it to the direction of a doctor of laws.* Pius V. appointed this doctor himself, and applied to the treasury the money which before had gone to enrich the favourites. Everything was conducted with more order and decorum. In former days a militia had been established in the country, and 16,000 men enrolled; Pius IV. had maintained a corps of light cavalry; Pius V. abolished both the one and the other; he disbanded the cavalry, the militia was suffered to fall into disuse. His whole armed force did not amount to 500 men, of whom 350, chiefly Swiss, were in Rome. Had it not been for the necessity of protecting the sea coasts from the inroads of the Turks, the use of arms would almost have been forgotten. This warlike population seemed inclined to devote itself exclusively to the arts of peace. The popes wished to rule their land like a large domain, the rents of which should, in part, be applied to their household expenses, but the chief portion should go to meet the exigencies of the church.

We shall see the great difficulties they encountered in their attempts to realize this project.

* Tiepolo, *ibid.*: “Qualche governo o legatione rispondeva sino a tre, quatro o forse sette mila e più scudi l’anno. E quasi tutti allegramente ricevendo il denaro si scaricavano del peso del governo col mettere un dottore in luogo loro.”

§ 3. THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

GREGORY XIII.

GREGORY XIII., Ugo Buoncompagno of Bologna, who had risen in life as a jurist, and in the civil service, was of a cheerful, jovial nature; he had a son, born indeed before he was invested with spiritual dignities, but out of wedlock, and although he afterwards led a more regular life, he was at no time scrupulous; on the contrary, he rather manifested his disapprobation of a certain kind of austerity. He appeared to follow the example of Pius IV., whose ministers he instantly restored to their places, rather than that of his immediate predecessor.*

But in this pope we see the potent influence of public opinion. A century earlier he would have governed, at most, like an Innocent VIII. Now, on the contrary, even a man of his character could not emancipate himself from the severe ecclesiastical spirit of the age.

There was a party at court who made it their chief business to uphold and to defend this spirit. It consisted of Jesuits, Theatins, and their adherents. We find the names of monsignori Frumento and Corniglia, the intrepid preacher Francesco Toledo, and the datarius Contarelli. Their power over

* People expected he would rule differently from his predecessors: "*Mitiori quadam hominumque captui accommodatori ratione.*" *Commentarii de rebus Gregorii XIII.* (MS. Bibl. Alb.) (App. No. 46.)

the pope was the more absolute from their union. They represented to him that the respect which Pius V. enjoyed, mainly arose from his personal character and conduct; all the letters which they read aloud to him dwelt on the memory of the holy life of the departed, on the fame of his reforms and his virtues. They suppressed or avoided every contrary expression. They thus tinged the ambition of Gregory XIII. with a thoroughly spiritual colour.*

His most ardent desire was to promote his son, and to elevate him to princely rank. But at the very first favour that he showed him—the nominating him castellan of St. Angelo and gonfaloniere of the church—Gregory's friends alarmed his conscience; and, during the jubilee of 1575, they would not tolerate Giacomo's presence in Rome. It was not till this was over that they consented to his return, and then only because the vexation of the aspiring young man impaired his health. Gregory then disposed of him in marriage, and prevailed on the republic of Venice to create him one of its nobili†, and

* *Relatione della corte di Roma a tempo di Gregorio XIII.*, (Bibl. Corsini, 714.) 20 Febr., 1574, is very instructive on this point. The author says of the disposition of the pope, "Non è stato scrupoloso nè dissoluto mai e le son dispiaciute le cose mal fatte." (App. No. 44.)

† On this occasion they had the difficult task of describing his birth. It has been praised as an evidence of Venetian address, that he was designated as "Signor Giacomo Boncompagno, closely connected with His Holiness;" but it was, in fact, an evasion of cardinal Como's. When the matter was under discussion, the ambassador asked the minister, whether Giacomo

the king of Spain to appoint him general of his *hommes d'armes*. Nevertheless he did not relax the vigilant restraint in which he kept him. Having attempted to liberate one of his university friends from custody, the pope sent him again into exile, and threatened to deprive him of all his offices; he was only deterred from this severity by the prayers of Giacomo's young wife, who fell at his feet and implored his pardon. The time for any more ambitious hopes was long past.* It was not till the close of the pope's life that his son obtained influence over him, and even then it was by no means absolute in important affairs of state.† When any one craved his intercession, he shrugged his shoulders.

If this was the case with his son, how much less could any other relations hope for irregular favours, or a share in the supreme power! Gregory raised two of his nephews to the cardinalate,—this was no more than Pius V. had done; when a third, pre-

should be called the son of His Holiness. “S. Sgrìa Illma prontamente dopo avere scusato con molte parole il fatto di S. S^a, che prima che havesse alcuno ordine ecclesiastico, generasse questo figliuolo, disse: ‘che si potrebbe nominarlo per il S^r Jacomo Boncompagno Bolognese, strettamente congiunto con Sua Santità.’” Dispaccio, Paolo Tiepolo, 3 Marzo, 1574.

* Antonio Tiepolo, Dispacci, Agosto Sett., 1576. In the year 1583, (29th of March,) it is said in one of these despatches: “Il S^r Giacome non si lascia intromettere in cose di stato.”

† It is only at this latter period that the opinion of him is true, which has taken such firm root, and which, for instance, I find, even in the *Memoirs of Richelieu*: “Prince doux et bénin, fut meilleur homme que bon pape.” We shall see in how limited a degree this is true.

suming on their success, came to solicit promotion, his uncle refused him an audience and ordered him to quit Rome within two days. The pope's brother had also set out for Rome that he might enjoy the sight of the prosperity which had befallen his house; he had already reached Orvieto, when he was met by a messenger of the court who desired him to return. The old man's eyes filled with tears, and he could not resist advancing a little further on his way towards Rome; but there a second prohibition met him, and he returned to Bologna.*

In short, this pope cannot be reproached with having encouraged nepotism, or favoured his kindred at the expense of the laws and the public. When a newly appointed cardinal once said to him, that he should ever be grateful to the family and the nephews of his holiness, he struck the arms of the chair on which he was sitting with his hands, and exclaimed, "Be grateful to God and to the holy see."

So thoroughly was he already imbued with the religious spirit. He endeavoured not only to equal, but to surpass, Pius V., in devout demeanor.†

* The good man complained that the election of his brother to the papal chair was of more injury than advantage to himself, since it obliged him to greater expenses than could be covered by the allowance granted by Gregory.

† Seconda Relazione dell' Ambasciatore di Roma Cl^{mo} M. Paolo Tiepolo, Cav^{re}, 3 Maggio, 1576: "Nella religione ha tolto non solo d'imitar, ma ancora d' avanzar Pio V.: dice per l' ordinario almeno tre volte messa alla settimana. Ha avuto particolar cura delle chiese, facendole non solo con fabbriche et

During the first years of his pontificate he said mass thrice every week, and he never failed to do so on Sundays. His life and conversation were not only blameless, but edifying.

Never did pope perform certain duties of his office with more fidelity than Gregory. He kept a list of men of every country who were likely to acquit themselves well as bishops, showed himself well informed of the characters and qualifications of every one who was proposed to him, and exhibited the greatest caution in the appointments to these important offices.

Above all, he laboured to encourage a strictly ecclesiastical course of instruction. He contributed to the increase of Jesuits' colleges with extraordinary liberality. He made considerable presents to the establishment of the professed members in Rome, bought houses, inclosed streets, and allotted revenues, for the purpose of giving to the whole college the form in which we still see it. It was calculated to contain twenty lecture rooms, and three hundred and sixty cells for students. It was called the Seminary of all Nations; and, at its first opening, to show that it was intended to embrace the whole world, twenty-five speeches were spoken in as many languages, each followed by a Latin interpretation.* The 'collegium Germanicum,' which was founded earlier, was in danger of total extinction

altri modi ornar, ma ancora colla assistentia e frequentia di preti accrescer nel culto divino."

* Dispaccio, Donato, 13 Genn., 1582.

from want of funds; the pope not only gave the Palazzo Sant' Apollinare, and the revenues of San Stefano on Monte Celio, but also granted it ten thousand scudi from the apostolic treasury. Gregory may be regarded as the real founder of this institution, which yearly furnished Germany with a number of champions of catholicism. He also founded an English college at Rome, and provided funds for its maintenance. He contributed to the colleges at Vienna and Grätz out of his private purse, and there was perhaps not a single Jesuits' school in the world, which had not cause to boast in one way or other of his liberality. By the advice of the bishop of Sitia, he also founded a Greek college, in which boys of from thirteen to sixteen were received, not only from countries which were under christian rule, such as Corfù and Candia, but also from Constantinople, Morea, and Salonichi; they had Greek teachers, they were dressed in the caftan and the Venetian barett, and were made to retain all their Greek customs, and to keep always before their minds that they were destined to return to their native land. They were allowed to retain not only their language, but their rite, and were instructed in the faith according to the rules of the council by which the Greek and Latin churches were united.*

Another proof of Gregory's comprehensive care for the whole catholic world was, his reform of the

* Dispaccio, Antonio Tiepolo, 16 Marzo, 1577: "accio che fatto maggiori possano affettionatamente e con la verità imparata dar a vedere ai suoi Greci la vera via."

calendar. This measure had been desired by the council of Trent ; and the removal of the high festivals of the church from the connexion in which they had been placed to the seasons of the year, by decrees of councils, rendered it indispensable. All catholic nations took part in this reform. Luigi Lilio, a Calabrese, who had few other claims to distinction, acquired immortal fame by discovering the easiest method of remedying the inconvenience. His plan was communicated to all universities ; among them, to Salamanca and Alcala ; and opinions upon it were collected from all quarters. It was then subjected to the scrutiny of a commission appointed in Rome, whose most learned and laborious member was a German, Clavius* ; and by this body the final decision was given. The learned cardinal Sirleto had the greatest influence on the whole proceeding. It was conducted with a sort of mystery ; the new calendar was shown to no one, not even to the ambassadors, until it had been approved by the several courts.† Gregory then solemnly proclaimed it, dwelling on this reform as a proof of the immeasurable grace of God to his church.‡

But the exertions of this pope were not all of so pacific a nature. It made him unhappy that the Venetians concluded a peace, and afterwards Phi-

* Erythræus, "in quibus Christophorus Clavius principem locum obtinebat."

† Dispaccio, Donato, 20 Dec. 1581 ; 2 Giugno, 1582. He praises the cardinal as a "huomo veramente di grande letteratura."

‡ Bull of the 13th of Feb. 1582. §.12. Bullar. Cocq. iv. 4. 10.

lip II. a truce, with the Turks. Had it depended on him, the league which won the battle of Lepanto would never have been dissolved. The troubles in the Netherlands and in France, and the conflict of parties in Germany, furnished a boundless field to his activity. He was unwearied in devising projects against the protestants. The rebellions which queen Elizabeth had to contend with in Ireland were almost always abetted by Rome; and indeed the pope did not conceal that he wished to bring about a general combination against England. Year after year his nuncios endeavoured to negotiate this matter with Philip II. and the Guises. It would be an interesting labour to collect and arrange all these negotiations and projects, which were often unknown to those whose ruin they were designed to accomplish, and which at length led to the grand enterprise of the armada. Gregory conducted and urged them with the most ardent zeal. The French league, which was so perilous to Henry III. and IV., had its origin in the connexion of this pontiff with the Guises.

Although it must be admitted that Gregory XIII. did not burden the state with his kinsmen, yet the vast and costly enterprises in which he engaged were a far more formidable charge on the public revenues. Even Stukeley's expedition, which terminated so disastrously in Africa, insignificant as it was, cost him a considerable sum. He once sent Charles IX. 400,000 ducats, raised by a direct tax, levied on the cities of the Roman States; and he afforded frequent subsidies to the emperor and to

the grand master of Malta. But his pacific undertakings also required a large outlay. It was calculated that the maintenance of young men during their studies cost him two millions.* What then must he have expended on the twenty-two Jesuits' colleges which owed their existence to him?

Hence he frequently found himself involved in financial difficulties, with a revenue which, though constantly increasing, never yielded a disposable surplus.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, the Venetians made an attempt to induce him to grant them a loan. With increasing attention Gregory listened to the detailed proposals of the ambassador, but when at length he perceived what he was aiming at, he exclaimed, "What do you ask, sir ambassador? The congregation meets every day to devise means of raising money, and never hits upon a practicable expedient."†

The financial administration of Gregory XIII. was now a matter of paramount importance. The alienations and the imposition of fresh taxes were already become subjects of censure; the questionable, nay, the ruinous nature of such a system, was thoroughly perceived. Gregory charged the con-

* Calculation of Baronius. Possevinus, in *Ciacconius Vitæ Pontificum*, iv. 37. Lorenzo Priuli calculates that he spent 200,000 scudi yearly on "opere pie." The extracts from the narratives of the Cardinal di Como and Musotti, given by Cocquelines at the end of the *Annals of Maffei*, are the most circumstantial and worthy of belief on this point.

† *Dispaccio*, 14 Marzo, 1573. It is a "Congregatione deputata sopra la provisione di danari."

gregation with the business of raising money for him, but it was to be neither by spiritual grants; nor by new taxes, nor by the sale of ecclesiastical revenues.

What means then remained? The expedients resorted to were very remarkable, and not less so the results which they produced.

Gregory, who undeviatingly followed an absolute idea of right, thought he had discovered that the sovereign of the papal dominions possessed many prerogatives which he needed only to put in force, in order to obtain new pecuniary resources.* He was not at all inclined to respect privileges which stood in his way. Among other things, he abolished, without the least scruple, the right possessed by the Venetians of exporting wheat from the March and Ravenna, under certain advantageous conditions. He said it was fair that foreigners should pay as much duty as natives.† As they made some resistance, he caused their warehouses at Ravenna to be broken open, the contents of them to be sold by auction, and the owners to be imprisoned. This incident alone, however, does not prove much; it only shows the mode in which he intended to proceed. A far more important thing was, that he thought he discovered a number of abuses amongst the nobles of his dominions, the reform of which might be turned to the account of the treasury. His se-

* Maffei: *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, i. p. 104. He reckons, that the States of the Church yielded a clear income of 160,000 scudi only.

† Dispaccio, Antonio Tiepolo, 12 April 1577.

cretary of the treasury, Rudolfo Buonfigliuolo, suggested a scheme for a vast extension and renewal of feudal claims which were almost forgotten. He alleged that a great portion of the castles and estates of the barons of the papal dominions had escheated to the pope; some by the failure of the lineal heirs, others by the nonpayment of the rent due to the government.* Nothing could be more acceptable than such a suggestion to the pope, who had already acquired some such estates by purchase or escheat, and he immediately proceeded to act upon it. In the mountains of Romagna he wrested Castelnuovo from the Isei of Cesena, and Corcana from the Sassatelli of Imola. Lonzano, situated on its beautiful hill, and Savignano in the plain, were confiscated from the Rangoni of Modena. Alberto Pio voluntarily ceded Bertinoro, to avoid the suit with which the treasury threatened him; but not satisfied with this, it stripped him also of Verucchio and other places. From this time he came, on every festival of St. Peter, to offer the arrears of rent due; but they were never accepted. These instances occurred in Romagna alone; but the other provinces were treated in the same manner. The papal court laid claim not only to estates of which the feudal services had not been rendered; there were some

* Dispaccio, A. Tiepolo, 12 Genn. 1579: "Il commissario della camera attende con molta diligentia a ritrovare e rivedere scritture per ricuperare quanto dalli pontefici passati si è stato obligato o dato in pegno ad alcuno, e vedendo che S. S^a gli assentisse volontieri, non la sparagna o porta rispetto ad alcuno."

which had originally only been mortgaged to the barons,—an origin of their tenure which had long fallen into oblivion; the estate had passed from father to son as if held in fee, and had been greatly improved; it was now the pleasure of the pope and his fiscal commissaries to redeem the mortgages. In this way they took possession of the Castle of Sitiano, by paying down the 14,000 scudi for which it had been mortgaged,—a sum far below its actual value.

The pope congratulated himself greatly on these proceedings. He thought he had established a fresh claim to the favour of Heaven when he had succeeded in raising the revenues of the church, if only by ten scudi, provided it were done without new taxes. He calculated with satisfaction that in a short time an addition of 100,000 scudi would be made, by legal means, to the revenue of his states. What increased resources would this give for expeditions against heretics and infidels! At court his measures were generally approved. “This pope is called ‘the Watchful,’ (the signification of the name Gregory)” says the cardinal of Como; “he will watch and recover his own.”*

In the country, however, which was under the influence of the aristocracy, these measures made a very different impression.

* Dispaccio, 21 Ott. 1581: “Sono molti anni che la chiesa non ha havuto pontefice di questo nome Gregorio, che secundo la sua etimologia Greca vuol dire ‘vigilante:’ questo che è Gregorio è vigilante, vuol vigilare e ricuperare il suo, e li par di far un gran servitio, quando ricupera alcuna cosa, benchè minima.”

Many great families found themselves suddenly driven out of an estate to which they believed themselves to have an indisputable legal title. Others were threatened with a similar fate. Old papers were daily searched through in Rome, and daily new claims grounded upon them. In a short time no man thought himself secure, and many determined rather to defend their property with arms than to deliver it up to the fiscal commissary. One of these feudatories told the pope to his face,—“What’s lost is lost; but one has at least a kind of pleasure in making a good defence.”

In consequence of the influence of the nobles on the peasantry, and on the ‘nobili’ of the neighbouring towns, this violent expedient for raising money occasioned a ferment throughout the country.

This was heightened by other ill-concerted measures by which the pope occasioned very grievous losses to certain cities. For example, he raised the duties of the port of Ancona, with the notion that the increase would fall upon the foreign merchants, and not upon the country. He thus inflicted a blow on that city from which it never recovered: trade suddenly withdrew itself, and the removal of the increased duties, and even the restoration of their old privileges to the Ragusans, proved but feeble remedies for the injury they had sustained.

The event brought about by this policy was most unexpected and peculiar.

Obedience to authority rests, in every country, but especially in one of so peaceful a character, on voluntary subordination. The elements of com-

motion were here not removed nor suppressed; they were only concealed by the domination of the government, so that when subordination gave way on one point, these elements all burst forth and appeared in full conflict. The country seemed suddenly to wake to the recollection, how warlike, how skilful in arms, how independent in its parties, it had been for centuries; it began to scorn this government of priests and doctors, and to relapse into a state more congenial to its nature.

Not that people directly opposed the government, or revolted against it; but the old feuds revived on every side.

The whole of Romagna was already divided into factions. In Ravenna there were the Rasponi and the Leonardi, in Rimini the Ricciardelli and the Tignoli, in Cesena the Venturelli and the Bottini, in Forlì the Numai and the Sirugli, in Imola the Vicini and the Sassatelli, arrayed against each other; the former of all these were still Ghibellines, the latter Guelfs; and even after interests had entirely changed, the names came into use afresh. The parties often possessed themselves of different quarters and different churches; they were distinguished by little badges, such as, that the Guelfs wore the feather on the right side of the hat, the Ghibellines on the left.* The feud spread into the smallest villages; not a man would have spared the life of his own brother if he declared himself for the

* The *Relatione di Romagna* points out the differences "nel tagliar del pane, nel cingersi, in portare il pennacchio, fiocco o fiore al capello o all' orecchio." (App. No. 92.)

opposite faction. There were instances of men putting their wives to death that they might marry into families belonging to their party. The *Pacifici* had lost all their influence, the more completely, because unfit people had been admitted into the fraternity from favour. The factions took justice into their own hands, and often pronounced those guiltless who had been condemned by the papal tribunals. They broke open prisons to liberate their friends, or to take vengeance on their enemies, whose heads were often seen the following day stuck up around the fountains.*

The sovereign power was now so weak, that in the March, the Campagna, and all the provinces, the troops of outlawed bandits grew into small armies. They scoured the country under the conduct of Alfonso Piccolomini, Roberto Malatesta, and other young men of the most illustrious families. Piccolomini took the town-house at Monte Abboddo, hunted out all his antagonists, and had them put to death before the eyes of their wives and mothers; nine of the name of Gabuzio shared this fate, while Piccolomini's followers danced in the market-place. He marched through the country as its sovereign, nor did even the ague arrest his course; on the day of the fever-fit he caused himself to be carried in a litter at the head of his troops. He sent word to the inhabitants of Corneto that they had better make haste to finish their harvest, for that

* In the MS. Sixtus V. Pontifex M. (Altieri Library at Rome) there is the most detailed description of this state of affairs. (See App. No. 52.)

he was coming to burn all the crops of his enemy, Latino Orsino. In his own person he affected a sort of honour: thus, on one occasion, when he took away the letters with which a courier was charged, he did not touch the man's money; but the brutal rapacity of his troops knew no bounds. Delegates were now sent from the towns in every direction to Rome, to implore succour.* The pope increased his forces, and conferred on cardinal Sforza larger powers than any man had possessed since the time of cardinal Alborno; he had authority to proceed not only without regard to any special privileges, but unrestrained by any rule of law; nay, even without any trial whatsoever;—*manu regia*.† Giacomo Buoncompagno took the field, and together they succeeded in dispersing the bands of brigands and clearing the country, but as soon as they retired from a spot the old disorders arose again in their rear.

One circumstance especially contributed to render these evils irremediable.

Gregory XIII., who is often represented as good-natured to excess, had nevertheless formed the highest and most rigorous estimate of his rights,

* Dispacci, Donato, del 1582, passim.

† Brief for Sforza, given in the Dispacci: "Omnimodam facultatem, potestatem, auctoritatem, et arbitrium, contra quoscunque bannitos, facinorosos, receptatores, fautores, complices et sequaces, etc., nec non contra communitates, universitates et civitates, terras et castra, et alios cujuscunque dignitatis vel præeminentiae, barones, duces, et quavis auctoritate fungentes, et extrajudicialiter et juris ordine non servato, etiam sine processu et scripturis, et manu regia illosque omnes et singulos puniendi tam in rebus in bonis quam in personis."

not only as temporal prince, but as pontiff.* He showed no favour to the emperor or to the king of Spain, nor did he pay the least regard to his neighbours. He was involved in a thousand disputes with Venice (as for instance concerning the affair of Aquileja, the visitation of their churches, and other points); the ambassadors could not describe his violence at the least mention of these matters, or what intense bitterness he displayed. The same was the case with Tuscany and Naples; Ferrara found no favour; Parma had shortly before lost considerable sums in legal disputes with him. All these neighbouring powers saw the pope involved in such annoying perplexities with pleasure; they scrupled not to give asylum to the bandits, who, on the first opportunity, returned to the Ecclesiastical States. In vain did the pope entreat them to desist; they professed to think it extraordinary that, after totally disregarding the interests or the complaints of all others, Rome set up claims to the services and the respect of every one.†

* P. Tiepolo makes this remark as early as 1576: "Quanto piu cerca d'acquistarsi nome di giusto, tanto piu lo perde di gratioso, perche concede moltomeno gratie extraordinarie di quel che ha fatto altro pontefice di molti anni in qua:—la qual cosa, aggiunta al mancamento ch'è in lui di certi officii grati et accetti per la difficultà massimamente naturale che ha nel parlar e per le pochissime parole che in ciascuna occasione usa, fa ch'egli in gran parte manca di quella gratia appresso le persone." (App. No. 45.)

† Dispaccio, Donato, 10 Sett. 1581: "E una cosa grande che con non dar mai satisfatione nissuna si pretende d' avere da altri in quello che tocca alla libertà dello stato suo correntemente ogni sorte d' ossequio."

Gregory thus found it impossible ever to reduce the outlaws to submission. No taxes were paid, and the sussidio could not be collected. Universal discontent overspread the land; even cardinals suggested the question, whether it would not be better to attach themselves to some other state.

In this posture of things the execution of the measures proposed by the secretary of the treasury was out of the question. In December 1581 the Venetian ambassador distinctly announced, that the pope had put a stop to all proceedings in matters of confiscation.

He was compelled to permit Piccolomini to come to Rome and to present a petition to him.* He shuddered as he read the long catalogue of murders which he was required to pardon, and laid it on the table; but he was told that one of three things was inevitable,—either he must expect his son Giacomo to fall a victim to the vengeance of Piccolomini, or he must resolve to put Piccolomini to death, or to grant him free pardon. The father confessors of St. John Lateran declared that, though they dared not violate the secrecy of the confessional, they were permitted to say thus much,—that if something was not done, a great calamity would ensue. Another reason was, that Piccolomini was openly protected by the grand duke of Tuscany, and then inhabited the palace of the Medici.

* Donato, 9 April, 1583: “Il sparagnar la spesa e l'assicurar il Signor Giacomo, che lo desiderava, et il fuggir l'occasione di disgustarsi ogni dì piu per questo con Fiorenza sì come ogni dì avveniva, ha fatto venir S. S^a in questa risoluzione.”

At last the pope consented,—though with a heart wounded to the core,—and signed the brief of absolution.

But even by this concession he did not restore tranquillity to the country. His own capital was full of bandits, and things were in so desperate a condition that the city magistracy of the ‘conservatori’ was obliged to interpose to secure obedience to the pope’s police. A certain Marianazzo refused the pardon offered him; he said that the life of a bandit was more advantageous to him, and afforded him greater security.*

The aged pope, feeble and weary of life, cast his eyes to Heaven, and cried, “Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and wilt have mercy upon Zion!”

§ 4. SIXTUS V.

It sometimes appears as if tumult and disorder possessed some secret power of producing the man capable of ruling the storm.

While, throughout the world, hereditary monarchies or aristocracies transmitted power from generation to generation, the spiritual sovereignty was distinguished by being attainable from the lowest ranks of society. It was from the humblest station that a pope now arose, endowed with all the qualities requisite to crush the disturbances that prevailed.

* “Che il viver fuoruscito li torni piu a conto e di maggior sicurtà.” Gregory reigned from the 13th of May, 1572, to the 10th of April, 1585.

At the time of the first successful progress of the Ottoman arms in Illyria and Dalmatia, many of the inhabitants of those provinces fled into Italy. Groups of them were seen sitting on the sea-shore and raising their hands to Heaven. Among such fugitives, the ancestor of Sixtus V., Zanetto Peretti, a Sclavonian by birth, probably passed over into Italy.

But, as is often the fate of exiles, neither he nor his posterity, who had settled in Montalto, could boast of any remarkable good fortune in the country of their adoption. Peretto Peretti, the father of Sixtus V., was obliged to quit that city on account of debt; and it was not till his marriage, that he was enabled to hire a garden at Grotto a Mare, near Fermo. It was a remarkable spot: the ruins of a temple of the Etrurian Juno Cupræa stood amidst the trees and shrubs of the garden, which, as Fermo enjoys a milder climate than any other part of the March, abounded in the finest fruits of the south. Here a son was born to Peretti, on the 18th of December 1521. Shortly before this event he dreamt, that while he was deploring the various distresses of his life, he was consoled by an assurance, pronounced by a divine voice, that he should have a son who should raise his house to prosperity. He clung to this hope with all the ardour of a visionary nature exalted by poverty, and strongly inclined to the regions of mystery. He called the boy's name Felix.*

* Tempesti, Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto V., 1754,—has searched in the archives of Montalto for the origin of his hero.

The indigent circumstances of the family may be gathered from many little incidents of the child's life, such as his falling into the pond at which his aunt was washing, his watching fruit, and even tending swine. He learned the alphabet out of the hornbooks which other children, whose way to school lay across the field in which he was sitting, left lying by him; his father could not spare the five bajocchi a month which the neighbouring schoolmaster demanded. Fortunately there was one member of the family in the church, Fra Salvatore, a Franciscan, who at last suffered himself to be prevailed upon to pay the money for his schooling. The young Felix then went to school with the other boys; he carried with him a piece of bread, and at noon sat down and ate it by the side of a spring of water, at which he quenched his thirst. Spite of this extreme poverty, the hopes of the father had communicated themselves to the son. When, in his twelfth year, he entered the

The *Vita Sixti V.*, ipsius manu emendata, is also authentic. MS. in the Altieri Library at Rome. Sixtus was born, "cum pater Ludovici Vecchii Firmani hortum excoleret, mater Dianæ nurui ejus perhonestæ matronæ domesticis ministeriis operam daret." This same Diana lived to see, when far advanced in age, the pontificate of Sixtus: "Anus senio confecta Romam deferri voluit, cupida venerari eum in summo rerum humanarum fastigio positum, quem olitoris sui filium paupere victu domi suæ natum aluerat." Likewise: "pavisse puerum pecus et Picentes memorant et ipse adeo non diffitetur ut etiam præ se ferat." In the Ambrosiana, R. 124, there is, F. Radice dell' Origine di Sisto V., an Information, dated Rome, 4th of May, 1585, which however tells but little.

Franciscan order, (for the decree of the council of Trent prohibiting such early vows was not yet in existence); he retained the name of Felix. Fra Salvatore kept him under very severe discipline, uniting, as he did, the authority of an uncle and of a father; he however sent him to school. Felix often passed his evenings fasting, and studying by the light of a lantern in the cross ways, or, if that went out, by the lamp burning before the host in the church. We find no record of any marked indication of an innate spirit of devotion, or of a turn for profound scientific speculation; we learn only that he made rapid progress both at the school at Fermo, and at the schools and universities of Ferrara and Bologna, where he carried off the academic honours with great credit. He distinguished himself especially by his dialectical talent, and attained to a consummate and truly monkish dexterity in handling subtle theological questions. At the general convocation of the Franciscans in the year 1549, which opened with literary trials of skill, he held a disputation against one Antonio Persico of Calabria, a disciple of Thelesius, who at that time had acquired a high reputation in Perugia.* The quickness and presence of mind which he displayed on

* Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus: MS. in the Altieri Library (App. No. 51.): "*Eximia Persicus apud omnes late fama Perusiæ philosophiam ex Telesii placitis cum publice doceret, novitate doctrinæ tum primum nascentis nativum ingenii lumen mirifice illustrabat. Montaltus ex universa theologia excerptas positiones cardinali Carpeni inscriptas tanta cum ingenii laude defendit ut omnibus admirationi fuerit.*"

this occasion first secured him notice and respect; the patron of the order, cardinal Pio of Carpi, from that time warmly espoused his interests.

His high fortune, however, is to be ascribed to another accident.

In the year 1552, he preached during Lent in the church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome with the greatest success. His style was esteemed animated, copious, fluent, not overlaid with ornament, well arranged; his utterance was distinct and agreeable. One day when he was preaching to a large congregation in that church, he paused, as is the custom in Italy, in the middle of his sermon; after he had rested, he read the petitions, which usually consist of prayers and intercessions, when his eye suddenly lighted upon one which had been found sealed in the pulpit and contained something of a very different nature. All the leading principles of Peretti's sermons, especially those regarding the doctrine of predestination, were therein described, and opposite to each was written in large characters, "Thou liest." Peretti could not entirely conceal his astonishment; he hastened to conclude his discourse, and as soon as he reached his home, sent the paper to the inquisition.* In a very short time he

* Narrative contained in the same MS.: "Jam priorem orationis partem exegerat, cum oblatum libellum resignat, ac tacitus, ut populo summam exponat, legere incipit. Quotquot ad eam diem catholicæ fidei dogmata Montaltus pro concione affirmarat, ordine collecta continebat singulisque id tantum addebat, literis grandioribus, 'Mentiris.' Complicatum diligenter libellum, sed ita ut consternationis manifestus multis esset, ad pectus dimittit, orationemque brevi præcisione paucis absolvit."

beheld the grand inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, enter his room. Peretti had now to undergo the most rigorous examination. He often related afterwards with what dread the sight of this man, with his stern brow, his deep-set eyes and his hard features, inspired him. But he collected himself, answered well, and afforded no hold for suspicion or censure. When Ghislieri saw that the friar was not only innocent, but was so extensively versed, and so firmly fixed, in the catholic doctrines, he instantly became another man, embraced him with tears, and from that time was his second patron.

Fra Felice Peretti from that moment attached himself most decidedly to the strict party which just then gained the ascendancy in the church. He kept up a close intimacy with Ignazio, Felino, and Filippo Neri, all three of whom obtained the title of saints. The resistance he experienced in his attempts to reform his order, and his expulsion from Venice by the brethren, served only to increase his reputation among the partisans of the opinions which were then rising into power. He was introduced to Paul IV. and often consulted in difficult cases; he laboured as theologian in the congregation for the council of Trent; as consultor to the inquisition, he took a large share in the trial and condemnation of cardinal Carranza; nor was he repelled by the labour of searching out all the passages in the writings of protestants, which Carranza had introduced into his. He won the entire confidence of Pius V. That pope nominated him vicar-general of the Franciscans, expressly for the

purpose of giving him authority to reform his order; an undertaking which Peretti carried through most strenuously. He displaced the commissaries-general, who had of late possessed the highest power; restored the old constitution, according to which this supremacy resided in the provincials, and made the most rigorous visitations. Pius saw his expectations not only fulfilled, but surpassed; he looked upon the partiality he felt for Peretti as a sort of divine inspiration, and disregarding the calumnies which were industriously circulated concerning him, he appointed him bishop of St. Agatha, and, in the year 1570, cardinal.

The bishopric of Fermo was also conferred on him. Robed in the purple of the church, Peretti returned to his native place, where he had once watched the fruit and tended the cattle; yet the predictions of his father and his own hopes were still not completely fulfilled.

Accounts have been a thousand times repeated of the artifices employed by cardinal Montalto (so he was now called) in order to obtain the tiara; of his affectation of humility; of his crawling about, bent double, coughing and leaning on a stick; but those who are acquainted with history and with mankind will want no evidence to lead them to suspect that there is little truth in these stories. This was not the way in which the highest dignities were to be won.

Montalto lived a secluded, quiet, frugal, and industrious life. His pleasure was to plant trees and vines in his vineyard near Santa Maria Maggiore,

(which strangers still go to visit) and to do what he could for the welfare of his native town. His more serious hours were devoted to the works of St. Ambrose, of which, in 1580, he published an edition. This, whatever evidence it may afford of his industry, shows his disposition to make the meaning of his author bend to his own views. Nor does it appear that, in other respects, he exhibited that meek and inoffensive character which has been ascribed to him. We have an account of him even as early as 1574, which describes him as learned and prudent, but also as cunning and malignant.*

* A Discourse, *Sopra i soggetti papabili*, written in the time of Gregory XIII., says of Montalto: "La natura sua, tenuta terribile, imperiosa et arrogante, non li può punto conciliare la gratia." We see, he was the same when cardinal, as he afterwards showed himself when pope. Gregory XIII. often said to those about him: "caverent magnum illum cinerarium." Farnese saw him between the two Dominicans Trani and Justinian; who also indulged in hopes of the papacy for themselves. The author of 'Sixtus V. P. M.' makes him say: "Næ Picenum hoc jumentum magnifice olim exiliet, si duos illos, quos hinc atque illinc male fert, carbonis saccos excusserit." He adds, that it was on account of this prospect, that Vittoria Accorambuona married the nephew of Sixtus. The Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany had a great share in the election of Peretti. In a despatch of the Florentine ambassador, Alberti, May 11th, 1585, (Roma, Filza, n. 36.) it is said: "Vra Altezza sia sola quella che come conviene goda il frutto dell' opera che ella ha fatta (he speaks of this election) per avere questo pontefice amico e non altro se ne faccia bello." In another Florentine despatch, it is said: "Il papa replica che il gran duca aveva molte ragioni di desiderargli bene, perche egli era come quel agricoltore che pianta un frutto che ha poi caro insieme di vederlo crescere et andare avanti lungo tempo, aggiungendoli che egli era stato quello che dopo il Signor Iddio aveva condotta quest' opera, che a lui solo ne aveva

Yet he showed extraordinary self-control. When his nephew, the husband of Vittoria Accorambuona, was murdered, he was the first to entreat the pope to let the investigation drop. The intrigues of the conclave of 1585 having caused him to be put in nomination, this quality, which commanded universal admiration, probably conduced more than any other to ensure his election. It was also noted, as it is expressly said in the genuine narrative of the transaction, that he was of a comparative vigorous time of life, sixty-four, and of a robust and healthy constitution. Every body admitted that the actual state of affairs demanded above all things a man of unimpaired energies of mind and body.

Fra Felice thus saw himself at the term of all his wishes. It must have been with a lofty feeling of satisfaction that he contemplated this fulfilment of a noble and legitimate ambition. All those circumstances in which he had ever imagined he discerned indications of his high destiny, were now present to his mind. He chose as his motto, "From my mother's womb, thou, O God, hast been my defender."

From this time forth he believed himself to be favoured by God in all his undertakings. Immediately on ascending the throne he declared his determination of exterminating the banditti and public malefactors. He said that if he had not power

ad aver obligo, e che lo conosceva, se ben di queste cose non poteva parlar con ogn' uno." We see that a very different transaction took place behind the scenes, of which we know little or nothing. The election took place the 24th of April, 1585.

enough of himself, God would assuredly send legions of angels to his assistance.* He instantly proceeded to the execution of this arduous work with deliberate and inflexible resolution.

§ 5. EXTERMINATION OF BANDITTI.

SIXTUS V. regarded with aversion the memory of Gregory, and determined not to adhere to his measures. He disbanded the greater part of the troops which he found, and diminished the number of the sbirri by one half. On the other hand, he resolved on a relentless punishment of the criminals who fell into the hands of justice.

There had long been a prohibition against carrying short arms, especially a particular kind of fire-lock. Notwithstanding this, four young men of Cora, near kinsmen, were seized with such arms about them. The following was the day of the coronation, and so joyful an event furnished their friends with an occasion for begging a pardon for them. "So long as I live," replied Sixtus,

* Dispaccio, Priuli, 11 Maggio, 1585: Speech of the Pope in the Consistory: "Disse di due cose che lo travagliavano, la materia della giustitia e della abundantia, alle quali voleva attender con ogni cura, sperando in Dio che quando li mancassero li ajuti proprii e forastieri, li manderà tante legioni di angeli per punir li malfattori e ribaldi, et esortò li cardinali di non usar le loro franchigie nel dar ricapito a tristi, detestando il poco pensier del suo predecessor."

“every criminal must die.”* On the same day all four were hanged on one gallows, near the bridge of St. Angelo.

A young Trasteverine was condemned to death for having resisted the sbirri who wanted to take away his ass. All present were full of compassion, as the boy was led weeping to the place where he was to suffer death for so small an offence; they pleaded his youth to the pope. “I will add a few years of my life to his,” said he; and commanded that the execution should proceed.

These first acts of Sixtus struck terror into all, and imparted an extraordinary force to the orders which he now issued. Barons and communes were warned to clear their castles and towns of banditti, and were sentenced to make compensation for any damage committed by banditti within their territories respectively.†

It had been the custom to set a price on the head of a bandit; Sixtus ordered that this money should no longer be paid by the treasury, but by the kinsmen of the bandit, or, if they were too poor, by the commune in which he was born. This, it is obvious, was an endeavour to enlist the interests of the nobles, the communes and the kindred on the side of justice, in favour of which he even tried to engage the interest of the banditti themselves. He promised any one of them who would deliver up a comrade, alive or dead, not only his

* “Se vivo, facinorosis moriendum esse.”

† Bull. t. iv. p. iv. p. 137. Bando, in Tempesti, i. ix. 14.

own free pardon, but the pardon of some of his friends, whom he might name, and also a sum of money.

After these orders had been carried into effect, and some examples had been given of their rigorous execution, the pursuit of the banditti shortly assumed another form. It was fortunate that at the very beginning it was successfully directed against certain captains of bands. The pope could not rest, because the priest Guercino, who called himself the king of the Campagna, and who had once commanded the subjects of the bishop of Viterbo not to obey their lord, continued his old practices and had just committed fresh acts of pillage. "Sixtus prayed," says Galesinus, "that God would deliver the States of the Church from this robber;" on the following morning intelligence was received of the capture of Guercino. His head encircled with a gilded crown was stuck up on Mount St. Angelo; the man who brought it received the reward of two thousand scudi, and the people applauded the excellent administration of justice by his holiness.

Nevertheless another captain called Della Fara, had the audacity one night to knock up the watchmen of the Porta Salara, tell them his name, and desire them to greet the pope and the governor from him. Upon this Sixtus commanded his kinsmen, under pain of death, to find him and deliver him up. Before a month was over, Fara's head was brought to Rome.

Sometimes the means employed against the banditti exceeded the bounds of justice. Thirty of them

had assembled on a height in the territory of Urbino, when the duke caused some mules laden with provisions to be driven in that neighbourhood, presuming that they would not fail to plunder them. His expectations were not disappointed, and the provisions being poisoned, the robbers all died. "At the news of this," says a historian of Sixtus V., "the pope was much pleased."*

In Rome a father and son were led to death, though they persisted in declaring their innocence. The mother placed herself in the way, imploring only a short delay to enable her to prove the innocence of her husband and son. The senator refused it. "Since you thirst for blood," cried she, "I will glut you with it;" and she threw herself from the window of the capitol. Meanwhile the two unhappy sufferers came to the place of execution: each entreated to die first; the father could not endure to see the death of the son, nor the son that of the father; the people called aloud for mercy, while the savage executioner murmured at the needless delay.

Nor was there any respect of persons. Count Giovanni Pepoli, a descendant of one of the first houses of Bologna, but who had been accessory to many of the excesses of the banditti, was strangled in prison, and all his landed property, as well as his money, confiscated to the treasury.

Not a day passed without an execution; in every

* *Memorie del Pontificato di Sixto V.*: "Raggiugliato Sisto ne prese gran contento." (App. No. 52.)

part of the country, in wood and field, the traveller encountered stakes upon which were placed the heads of bandits. The pope reserved his commendations for those of his legates and governors who satisfied him on this point, and sent him in a large tribute of heads. His justice had something barbaric and oriental in it. Those robbers whom its arm could not reach, fell by the hand of their own comrades. The pope's promises had sown disunion among the banditti; no one trusted his fellow; they murdered each other.*

And thus not a year passed in which the disorders which had prevailed in the Ecclesiastical States were not crushed as soon as they openly burst forth, even if not stifled at their birth. In the year 1586 news was received that the last brigand leaders, Montebrendano and Arara, were killed. Nothing gave the pope greater pleasure than when ambassadors from foreign courts observed on their arrival, that they had found security and tranquillity in their whole passage through his States.†

* Disp., Priuli, as early as the 29th of June 1585: "Li fuorusciti s' ammazzano l'un l'altro per la provision del novo breve."

† Vita Sixti V., i. m. em.: "Ea quies et tranquillitas ut in urbe vasta, in hoc conventu nationum, in tanta peregrinorum advenarumque colluvie, ubi tot nobilium superbæ eminent opes, nemo tam tenuis, tam abjectæ fortunæ sit, qui se nunc sentiat cujusquam injuriæ obnoxium." (App. No. 50.) According to Gualterius, Vita Sixti V., the latter applied this sentence: "Fugit impius nemine persequente." (App. No. 53.)

§ 6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

As however the abuses which Sixtus V. warred against had another origin, besides the mere want of a vigilant police, his success in this struggle was connected with other measures of his government.

Sixtus V. is sometimes regarded as the sole founder of the laws and ordinances of the Roman States, and institutions which existed long before his time are ascribed to him: he is lauded as an unequalled master of finance, a perfectly unprejudiced statesman, a restorer of antiquity. He had that sort of character which stamps itself on the memories of men, and gains credence for fabulous, romantic stories.

But if all is not true that is related of him, it is at least unquestionable that his government was very remarkable.

It stood in a singular relation to that of Gregory. Gregory was, in his general measures, severe, decisive, partial; but he was indulgent to individual cases of disobedience. By setting interests in array against himself on the one hand, while, on the other, he permitted an unparalleled impunity to certain actions, he gave rise to that ruinous state of things which he lived to witness. Sixtus, on the contrary, was inexorable in individual cases; he adhered to his laws with a rigour that amounted to

cruelty, while, in the framing of general rules, we find him mild, yielding and placable. Under Gregory, obedience had met with no reward, and insubordination with no punishment. Under Sixtus, those who resisted had every thing to fear; while those who strove to please him might confidently expect proofs of his favour. Nothing could better promote his views.

From his first accession to power, he suffered all the misunderstandings which had arisen between his predecessor and his neighbours, out of ecclesiastical claims, to drop. He declared that a pope ought to uphold and to fortify the privileges which are enjoyed by princes, and, in accordance with this declaration, he restored to the Milanese their place in the rota, which Gregory XIII. had tried to take from them; he also evinced the highest satisfaction when the Venetians at length brought to light a charter which decisively established their claims in the affair of Aquileja: he was resolved to remove the objectionable clause in the bull, *In Cœnâ Domini*, and completely abolished the congregation concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whence the greater part of the disputes with other powers had arisen.* There is

* Lorenzo Priuli: Relatione, 1586: "E pontefice che non così leggiermente abbraccia le querele con principi, anzi per fuggirle ha levata la congregazione della giurisdittione ecclesiastica:" (in another place he says, principally with reference to Spain:) "e stima di potere per questa via concluder con maggior facilità le cose e di sopportare con manco indegnità quelle che saranno trattate secretamente da lui solo." (App. No. 57.)

certainly something magnanimous in the voluntary cession of contested rights ; and in the case in question this proceeding was attended with the most fortunate results to Sixtus. The king of Spain sent an autograph letter to the pope, in which he informed him that he had commanded his ministers in Milan and Naples to pay no less implicit obedience to the papal ordinances than to his own. Sixtus was moved to tears, "that the greatest monarch in the world should," as he expressed it, "so honour a poor monk." Tuscany declared herself devoted, Venice satisfied, and both these neighbours now adopted a new line of policy. Banditti who had taken refuge on the frontiers were delivered up to the pope from all quarters ; Venice forbade their return into the States of the Church, and refused her vessels for conveying exiles to the coasts. The pope was transported at this ; he said, "he would think of the republic another time ; he would suffer himself to be flayed alive for her," (that was his expression) "he would shed his blood for her." Hence it was, that he subdued the banditti ; they found refuge and succour nowhere.

In his own country, he was far from enforcing those severe measures which Gregory had proposed for the advantage of the revenue. After chastising the offending feudatories, he sought rather to conciliate and attach the other barons. He united the two great families of Orsini and Colonna by marriages, both with his own house and with each other. Gregory had stripped the Colonnas of their

castles; Sixtus regulated their household expenditure and advanced them sums of money.* He gave one of his great-nieces in marriage to the constable M. A. Colonna, and another to duke Virginio Orsini, bestowing on each an equal dower and very similar marks of favour; he also settled their quarrels for precedence, by making it depend on the seniority of the head of either house. Donna Camilla, the pope's sister, now occupied an august position,—surrounded by her children, by sons-in-law of such high and venerable nobility, and by grand-daughters married to the princes of Rome.

Sixtus also delighted in dispensing privileges. To the March especially he proved himself a kind and bountiful fellow-countryman. He restored to the Anconitani some of their ancient rights; established a supreme court of justice for the whole province in Macerata; granted fresh privileges to the college of advocates of that province; raised Fermo to an archbishopric, and Tolentino to a bishopric; and elevated the village of Montalto, in which his forefathers had first settled, by an express bull, into a city and a bishopric; “for,” said he, “it gave to our race its fortunate origin.” Even when cardinal, he had founded a learned school there; now, as pope, he endowed the Montalto college at the university of Bologna, for fifty students from the March, of whom Montalto had

* *Dispaccio degli Ambasciatori straordinarii*, 19 Ott., 25 Nov. 1585.

a right to present eight, and the little Grotto a Mare, two.*

He determined also to raise Loreto to the rank of a city. Fontana set before him the difficulties in the way of this measure. "Don't trouble yourself, Fontana," said he; "it cost me more to resolve upon it, than it will to execute it." A portion of the land was bought from the inhabitants of Recana; valleys were filled up, hills levelled, and roads laid out; the communes of the March were encouraged to build houses; cardinal Gallo placed new civic authorities in the holy chapel. The pope thus satisfied at once his patriotism and his devotion to the Holy Virgin. The cities of the other provinces were likewise the objects of his attention and solicitude. He made arrangements to prevent the increase of their debts, and limited their alienations and securities; he instituted an accurate inquiry into their whole financial condition, and it is to be ascribed to the provisions of which he was the author, that the communes gradually recovered their prosperity.†

* He included even the neighbouring villages as part of Montalto. Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata, "Porculam Patrignorum et Mintenorum, quia Montalto haud ferme longius absunt quam ad teli jactum et crebris affinitatibus inter se et commerciis rerum omnium et agrorum quadam communitate conjunguntur, haud secus quam patriæ partem Sixtus fovit semper atque dilexit, omniaque iis in commune est elargitus, quo paulatim velut in unam coalescerent civitatem." (App. No. 50.)

† Gualterius, "Ad ipsorum (universitatum) statum cognoscendum, corrigendum, constituendum, quinque cameræ apostolicæ clericos misit." (App. No. 53.) The advantages of these regulations

He encouraged agriculture generally. He undertook the work of draining the Chiana of Orvieto and the Pontine marshes, the latter of which he visited himself: the river Sisto (a canal cut through the marshes), which was the best attempt at drainage before the time of Pius VI., owed its origin to him.

He showed no less disposition to foster manufactures. A certain Pietro of Valencia, a Roman citizen, had proposed to introduce a manufactory of silk. The peremptory order with which Sixtus attempted to support him is very characteristic of that pope. He commanded that mulberry trees should be planted throughout his whole dominions, in every garden and vineyard, in every field and wood, in every hill and valley; wherever corn did not grow, he fixed the number of five for every rubbio of land, and threatened the commune with the imposition of considerable fines in case of neglect.* He tried likewise to encourage the woollen manufacture; "in order," says he, "that the poor may

may be observed in the *Memorie* also: "Con le quali provisioni si diede principio a rihaversi le comunità dello stato ecclesiastico: le quali poi de tutto ritornarono in piedi: con quanto l'istesso provvedimento perfezionò Clemente VIII." (*App. No. 52.*)

* Cum sicut accepimus: 28 Maji, 1586; *Bull. Cocq.*, iv. 4. 218. Gualterius, "Bombicinam sericam lanificiam vitreamque artes in urbem vel induxit vel amplificavit. Ut vero serica ars frequentior esset, mororum arborum seminaria et plantaria per universam ecclesiasticam ditionem fieri præcepit, ob eamque rem Maino cuidam Hebreo ex bombicibus bis in anno fructum et sericam amplificaturum sedulo pollicenti ac recipienti maxima privilegia impertivit." (*App. No. 53.*)

be able to earn something." He granted the first who undertook a manufactory an advance from the treasury, in return for which he was to deliver in a certain number of pieces of cloth.

We should do injustice to the predecessors of Sixtus V., if we attributed such intentions exclusively to him; Pius V. and Gregory XIII. also encouraged agriculture and manufactures. What distinguished Sixtus was, not so much that he took a new course, as that he pursued with greater rapidity and energy the course which had already been traced out. Hence it happened that he made such an impression on the minds and memories of men.

The assertion that he founded the congregations of cardinals must also be qualified. The seven most important,—those of the inquisition, the index, the affairs of the council, of the bishops, of the religious orders, the ‘*segnatura*’ and ‘*consulta*,’ he found already in existence. Nor were the political affairs left wholly unprovided for in these, for the two last mentioned had cognizance of judicial and administrative business. Sixtus now determined to add eight new congregations to those already existing, of which only two however were to be employed on the affairs of the church,—the one, on the founding of new bishoprics, the other, on the direction and the renovation of ecclesiastical usages *; the remaining six were destined for separate departments of administration; for the *annona*, the inspection of

* Congregation de sacri riti e cerimonie ecclesiastiche, delle provisioni consistoriali: a questa volle appartenesse la cognitione delle cause dell’ erectione di nove cattedrali.

roads, the abolition of oppressive taxes, the building of ships of war, the printing-office in the Vatican, and the university of Rome.* We see how unsystematically the pope proceeded in these arrangements, how completely he placed partial and transient interests on a level with general and permanent ones; nevertheless they were very successful, and with slight alterations subsisted for centuries.

He established a high standard for the qualities befitting the office of cardinal generally. They were all to be “distinguished men, their morals unimpeachable, their words oracles, their expressions a rule of life and thought to others; the salt of the earth, the light set upon a candlestick.”† It must not be thought however that his nominations were always strictly conscientious. In the case of Gallo, whom he raised to that dignity, he had nothing better to plead, than that he was his servant, towards whom he had many reasons for attachment, and who had once given him a very hospitable reception when he was on a journey.‡ But

* *Sopra alla grascia et annona—sopra alla fabbrica armamento e mantinimento delle galere—sopra gli aggravii del popolo—sopra le strade, acque, ponti e confini—sopra alla stamperia Vaticana* (to the first superintendent of the ecclesiastical press he gave apartments in the Vatican, and 20,000 sc. for ten years)—*sopra l’ università dello studio Romano.*

† *Bulla: Postquam verus ille; 3 Dec. 1586, Bullar. M. iv. iv. 279.*

‡ Although Sixtus would endure no other remonstrance, he did not escape that of a sermon. The Jesuit Francis Toledo, in a discourse preached before him, said, “it is sinful to requite

even in this department of his government he laid down a rule which, if not invariably followed, was ever after kept in view. He fixed the number of cardinals at seventy; "as Moses," says he, "chose seventy elders out of all the people to take counsel with him."

It has also been not unfrequent to ascribe the overthrow of nepotism to Sixtus, but on more accurate examination, this praise will be found to be unmerited. The favours and privileges bestowed on the papal families had already, as we have seen, fallen into insignificance, under Pius IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. If any one of these pontiffs deserves more especial commendation, it is Pius V., who expressly forbade the alienation of church property; this early form of nepotism was, as we have said, abolished before the time of Sixtus V. But another form had sprung up under the popes of the following century. There were always two favourite nephews or kinsmen, the one of whom, raised to the rank of cardinal, gained possession of the higher administration of ecclesiastical and political affairs; the other, in a secular station, splendidly married and endowed with landed property and 'luoghi di monte,' founded a 'majorat,' and became the head and stock of a princely house. If we inquire when this form was introduced, we shall find that its growth was gradual, but that it first acquired con-

private services by a public appointment." "Non perche," he continues, "uno sia buon coppiere o scalco, gli si commette senza nota d'imprudenza o un vescovato o un cardinalato." Gallo had formerly been head-cook. (*Memorie della di Vita Sisto V.*)

sistency under Sixtus V. Cardinal Montalto, whom the pope loved so tenderly that towards him he moderated his natural violence of temper, had a place in the ‘consulta,’ and a share at least in the administration of foreign affairs; while his brother Michele was made a marquis, and founded a wealthy house.

If, however, we were to infer from this that Sixtus introduced a system of government by nepotism, we should totally mistake. The marquis had no influence whatever, the cardinal none of importance*; to allow them any, would have been at variance with the pope’s ways of thinking. His favours and partialities had something single-hearted and confiding about them, and they secured him public and private good will; but he never for a moment resigned the helm to any other hand; he always ruled. Though he seemed to regard the congregations with the highest favour, though he even pressed them for their free and unconstrained opinions, yet he was impatient and irritated whenever any one used this permission.† He obstinately persisted in the execution of his own will. “Scarcely any one,” says Giovanni Gritti, “has a voice in his councils, —far less in his decisions.”‡ Whatever were his

* Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, p. 90: “Non aveva quasi alcuna partecipazione nel governo.”

† Gualterius, “Tametsi congregationibus aliisque negotia mandaret, illa tamen ipse cognoscere atque conficere consuevit. Diligentia incredibilis sciendi cognoscendique omnia quæ a rectoribus urbis provinciarum populorum omnium, a ceteris magistratibus sedis apostolicæ agebantur.” (App. No. 53.)

‡ Gritti, *Relatione*, “Non ci è chi abbi con lui voto decisivo, ma quasi ne anche consultivo.” (App. No. 58.)

personal or provincial partialities, his government was thoroughly impressed with an energetic, rigorous, autocratic character.

This character was no where more strikingly displayed than in the financial department, which we shall now consider.

§ 7. FINANCES.

The house of Chigi at Rome possesses a most interesting document,—a small memorandum book of pope Sixtus V., in his own handwriting, kept while he was a monk.* Every important event of his life, every place where he preached during Lent, the commissions which he received and executed, the books which he possessed, how they were bound, whether singly or together, and all the items of his small monkish expenditure, are carefully noted down: for example, we read there how his brother in law Baptista bought twelve sheep for him; how he, the monk, paid first twelve, and afterwards two florins and twenty bolognins, so that they became his property, the brother in law keeping them, as was the custom in Montalto, and receiving half the profits; and so on. We discover how sparing he was of his small savings, how carefully he kept an account of them, and how in the end the sum increased to several hundred florins. These details

* *Memorie autografe di Papa Sisto V.* (App. No. 49.)

are interesting, as exhibiting traces of the same economical mind which was shortly afterwards applied to the government of the Papal States. Economy is a quality for which he praises himself in every bull which affords an opportunity, and in many inscriptions; and in truth no pope, either before or after him, administered the revenues of his states with equal success.

On his ascending the throne, he found an exhausted exchequer, and bitterly does he complain of pope Gregory, who had spent a large portion of the revenues of his predecessor as well as of his successor*: he had so bad an opinion of him, that he once ordered masses to be said for his soul, in consequence of a dream that he had seen him suffering punishment in the other world.

The revenues were already anticipated until the October following; it was therefore the more important for him to fill his treasury, and he succeeded beyond his expectations: at the end of one year of his reign, in April 1586, he had already treasured up a million of scudi in gold; in November 1587, another; and in April 1588, a third million. This makes above four millions and a half of scudi in silver. As soon as he had got together one million, he deposited it in the castle of St. An-

* Vita e Successi del Cardinal di Santaseverina. MS. Bibl. Alb.: "Mentre gli parlavo del collegio de neofiti e di quel degli Armeni, che havevano bisogno di soccorso, mi rispose con qualche alteratione, che in castello non vi erano danari e che non vi era entrata, che il papa passato havea mangiato il pontificato di Pio V. e suo, dolendosi acremente dello stato nel quale haveva trovato la sede apostolica." (App. No. 64.)

gelo, consecrating it as an offering, as he expresses it, to the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, and to the holy apostles, Peter and Paul. "He saw," as he says in his bull, "not only the waves on which the bark of St. Peter was now occasionally tossed, but the storms which lowered in the distance; implacable was the hatred of the heretics; while the powerful Turk, Assur, the scourge of God's wrath, threatened the faithful: he was taught by the God in whom he trusted, that the father of the family should watch by night; he followed the example of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, by whom a large sum of money was always kept in the temple of the Lord." He expressly determined the occasions on which it was allowable to touch this treasure; they were as follows: a war undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, or a general campaign against the Turks; a famine or a pestilence; the imminent danger of losing a province of catholic christendom; the invasion of the States of the Church, or the chance of recovering a city which had belonged to the Roman see. He bound down his successors, as they feared the anger of the Almighty and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to confine themselves within these limits.*

We will leave unquestioned for the present the wisdom of these regulations, and will inquire into the means which Sixtus applied to collect a treasure so astonishing for those times.

It could not arise out of the net revenue; for

* Ad Clavum; 21 Apr. 1586: Cocq. iv. iv. 206.

Sixtus himself had often said, that the net income of the papal see was not more than 200,000 scudi a year.* Nor can it be ascribed exactly to his savings, although they were considerable (he limited the expenses of his table to six paoli a day, abolished many useless places about his court, and decreased the number of his troops); for we have not only the testimony of the Venetian Delfino, that all this did not lessen the expenditure of the camera by more than 150,000 scudi, but Sixtus himself reckoned the saving to the exchequer which he effected, at only 146,000 scudi.† Thus, according to his own declaration, with all his economy, the net income was only increased by 350,000 scudi;—a sum scarcely sufficient for the buildings which he carried on, much less for the amassing of so vast a treasure.

We have before considered the singular financial system which had been established in the Roman States;—the increase of the imposts and taxes without any increase of the clear revenue, the multiplicity of loans through the sale of offices and monti, the increasing burdens of the state to meet the necessities of the church. It is obvious what enormous abuses were involved in this system; and when

* Dispaccio, Gritti; 7 Giugno, 1586. The pope finds fault with Henry III., because with a revenue of fourteen millions he saved nothing. “Con addur l'esempio di se medesimo nel governo del pontificato, che dice non haver di netto più di 200,000 scudi all' anno, battuti li interessi de' pontefici passati e le spese che convien fare.”

† Dispaccio, Badoer; 2 Giugno, 1589.

we consider the praise so lavishly bestowed upon Sixtus V., we are led to conclude that he found means to remove the evil. What then must be our astonishment when we discover that he followed the same system in the most reckless manner, and even fixed this system on such a basis that it was beyond the reach of future control or remedy!

One of his chief sources of gain was the sale of offices. In the first place, he raised the price of many which were already venal. We may take as an example the office of the treasurer of the camera, which had till now been sold for 15,000 scudi; he first sold it to one of the Giustiniani for 50,000 sc., and on making him a cardinal, he sold it to a Pepoli for 72,000 sc.: having invested him also with the purple, he applied full one half of the income of this office, viz. 5,000 sc., to a monte, and sold it, diminished by that amount, again for 50,000 golden sc. Secondly, he rendered offices venal which previously had always been given away; as, for instance, the places of notaries, of fiscals, those of commissary general, of solicitor to the camera, and advocate of the poor; he often sold them for considerable sums,—that of the commissary general for 20,000 sc., and of notaries for 30,000 sc. Lastly, he created a number of new offices, and often important ones; such as, offices of treasurer of the dataria, of prefect of the prisons, of twenty-four referendaries, two hundred cavalieri, notaries in the principal places of the state, &c.—all of which he sold.

By these means he doubtless collected very large

sums ; the sale of offices produced 608,510 golden scudi, and 401,805 silver scudi ;—altogether about one million and a half of silver scudi.* But, if the saleable offices were before a vexation to the people, in consequence of their bringing with them, as we have mentioned, a participation in the rights of government, under the plea of a loan,—rights which were most rigorously enforced against those upon whom the taxes were levied, while the duties of the office were utterly neglected,—how much was this evil now increased ! An office, as we have before remarked, was thus regarded as a possession conferring certain rights, and not as a duty imposing labour.

Sixtus also increased the number of the *monti* to an extraordinary degree ; he established three *monti non vacabili* and eight *monti vacabili* more than any of his predecessors.

We have already seen that the *monti* were always assigned for payment upon new imposts, and Sixtus could devise no other expedient, although he was very reluctant to employ this. The first time he spoke in the consistory of cardinals, of investing a fund for the use of the church, cardinal Farnese replied, that his grandfather, Paul III., had thought of that scheme ; but had foreseen that it could not be done without an increase of taxation, and had abandoned it for that reason. Sixtus answered him sharply ; the insinuation that a former pope could have been wiser than himself, put him in a rage. “ The cause of that was,” he replied, “ that

* Calculation of the Finances of Rome under Clement VIII., in a detailed MS. (Bibl. Barberina, at Rome.)

under Paul III., there were certain extravagant spendthrifts, who, thanks be to God, in our time do not exist." Farnese blushed, and held his tongue*, but the result was as he had said. In the year 1587, Sixtus V., no longer restrained by these considerations, loaded with new taxes the most toilsome occupation, namely, that of towing boats up the Tiber with buffaloes and horses,—and the most necessary articles of life, such as wood for burning, and the wine of Foglietta, which was sold by retail,—and instantly applied the proceeds to the foundation of 'monti.' He debased the coin; and as this gave rise to a small money-changing trade at all corners of the streets, he turned even that to account, by selling permission to carry on the trade.† Much as he favoured the March of Ancona, he loaded its commerce with a new duty of two per cent. upon all imports. He compelled the just-reviving industry of the country to minister indirectly to his advantage.‡ His great adviser in these matters

* *Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V.*: "Mutatosi per tanto nel volto mentre Farnese parlava, irato più tosto che grave gli rispose: 'Non è maraviglia, Monsignore, che a tempo di vostro avo non si potesse mettere in opera il disegno di far tesoro per la chiesa con l'entrate e proventi ordinarii, perche vi erano di molti e grandi scialaquatori (a word he was very fond of using) i quali non sono Dio gratia a tempi nostri:' notando amaramente la moltitudine di figli e figlie e nepoti d'ogni sorte di questo pontefice. Arrossì alquanto a quel dire Farnese e tacque." (*App. No. 52.*)

† In exchange for an old Giulio, besides ten bajocchi of Sixtus's coinage, a premium of from four to six quatrini was given.

‡ A good example of his administration. *Le stesse Memorie*: "Ordinò non si vendesse seta o sciolta o tessuta in drappi nè lana o panni se non approbati da ufficiali creati a tal effetto, nè si es-

was a Portugese Jew, named Lopez, who had fled from Portugal from fear of the inquisition; he had gained the confidence of the datarius, of the Signora Camilla, and eventually of the pope himself, who entrusted to him these and similar operations. After the answer with which he had silenced Farnese, no cardinal again ventured to contradict him. When the above-mentioned tax upon wine was under discussion, Albano of Bergamo said, "I approve whatever pleases your holiness, but my approbation would be stronger if this tax displeased you."

Thus did Sixtus render available so many new sources of income, that he could take up, and pay interest upon, a loan of 2,424,725 scudi.

We must however confess that this financial system is somewhat incomprehensible.

New and very oppressive burdens were heaped upon the country by these taxes, and by the multiplicity of offices, the salaries of which were paid by fees which could not but impede the course of justice and of administration; the taxes fell upon trade, both wholesale and retail, and greatly injured its activity. And to what, after all, was the product of so much suffering applied?

If we put together what the monti and the offices produced on the whole, we find it will amount to

traessero senza licenza degli stessi: inventione utile contro alle fraudi, ma molto più in prò della camera, perche pagandosi i segni e le licenze se n'imborsava gran danaro dal pontefice.—
This could not be very beneficial to industry.

about the sum which was deposited in the castle of St. Angelo ; viz. four millions and a half of scudi, or but little more. With the amount of his savings, Sixtus could have carried into effect all the undertakings which have rendered him famous.

That a government should accumulate and save whatever it can spare, is intelligible enough ; nor is it less so that it should borrow money to help itself out of present difficulties ; but that it should raise loans and impose burdens, for the mere sake of shutting up in a strong castle a treasure against any future exigency, is most extraordinary. Yet, this it is, which has always excited the admiration of the world in the government of Sixtus V.

It is true that the measures of Gregory XIII. were somewhat odious and tyrannical, and re-acted very unfavourably on the state ; nevertheless, I think that if he had rendered it possible for the papal treasury to do without new taxes and loans for the future, the effect would have been most advantageous, and the States of the Church would perhaps have received a more beneficial impulse. But Gregory, particularly in his latter years, was wanting in energy to carry out his views.

It was precisely this all-accomplishing energy which distinguished Sixtus : his accumulations of money by means of loans, sale of offices, and new taxes, heaped burden upon burden ; and we shall have occasion to observe the consequences ; but his success blinded the world, and gave, for the moment, new importance to the papacy.

Placed in the midst of states which were generally distressed for money, the popes, by the possession of wealth, acquired confidence in themselves and extraordinary influence over others.

In fact this principle of administration was an essential part of the catholic system of those times. While it placed all the financial strength of the state in the hands of the head of the church, it made him, for the first time, completely the organ of ecclesiastical power. For to what other purpose could this money be applied, but to the defence and diffusion of the catholic faith?

Sixtus V. was entirely absorbed in enterprises which had that object, and were sometimes directed against the east and the Turks, but oftener against the west and the protestants. Between the two systems, the catholic and the protestant, a war broke out, in which the popes took the greatest interest and share.

We shall consider this in the next book: but will now direct our attention to Rome, which once more regained her influence over the whole world.

§ 8. PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—SIXTUS V.

FOR the third time, Rome assumed the aspect of capital of the world.

Our minds are familiar with the grandeur and magnificence of ancient Rome, which the remains of

art and the records of history have been explored to bring before us ; nor did her glories in the middle ages deserve less attentive research. This second Rome was august with the majesty of her basilicas, the religious services of her grottoes and catacombs, the patriarchal temples of the popes, (in which the relics of the earliest christianity were preserved,) the still splendid imperial palace which belonged to the German kings, and the fortified castles raised by independent clans, as if in defiance of the numerous powers by which they were surrounded.

During the absence of the popes in Avignon, this Rome of the middle ages had sunk into equal decay with that ancient Rome which had so long lain in ruins.

When Eugenius IV. returned to Rome in the year 1443, it was become a city of herdsmen ; its inhabitants were not distinguishable from the peasants of the neighbouring country. The hills had long been abandoned, and the only part inhabited was the plain along the windings of the Tiber ; there was no pavement in the narrow streets, and these were rendered yet darker by the balconies and buttresses which propped one house against another ; the cattle wandered about as in a village. From San Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo, all was garden and marsh, the haunt of flocks of wild ducks. The very memory of antiquity seemed almost effaced : the capitol was become the Goats' Hill, the Forum Romanum the Cows' Field ;—the strangest legends were associated with the few remaining monuments.

The church of St. Peter was in danger of falling down.

When at length Nicholas regained the obedience of all Christendom, he conceived the idea of employing the wealth he had acquired by the concourse of pilgrims to the jubilee, in adorning Rome with such buildings as that all should instantly perceive and acknowledge that it was indeed the capital of the world. This, however, was not a work to be accomplished by one man. Succeeding popes laboured at it for centuries.

I shall not repeat the details of their labours, which are to be found in their several biographies. The most remarkable, both from their consequences and their contrast, were the epochs of Julius II. and Sixtus V.

Under Julius II., the lower city, which had retreated to the banks of the Tiber, was completely restored. After Sixtus IV. had established a better communication between the two banks, by that solid simple bridge of travertine which still bears his name, people began to build on both sides with the greatest activity. On the southern side, Julius did not rest satisfied with the project of the church of St. Peter, which arose majestically under his direction; he also restored the palace of the Vatican. In the hollow between the old building and the country house of Innocent VIII., the Belvedere, he erected the Loggie, a work of consummate beauty of conception. Not far from hence, his cousins, the Riari, and his treasurer, Agostino Chigi, rivalled each other in the beauty of the

houses they constructed ; that of Chigi, the Farnesina, admirable for the perfection of its plan, and decorated by the matchless hand of Raffaele, is unquestionably the superior. On the northern side of the river, posterity is indebted to Julius II. for the completion of the Cancelleria, with its cortile, executed in those pure and harmonious proportions which render it the most beautiful court in existence. His cardinals and barons emulated his example : Farnese's palace has acquired the reputation of the most perfect in Rome, from its vast and magnificent entrance ; Francesco de Rio boasted that his would stand till tortoises crawled over the face of the earth ; while the Medici filled their abode with every treasure of literature and of art, and the Orsini adorned theirs at Campofiore, within and without, with statues and pictures.* Foreigners do not always devote all the attention they deserve to the remains around Campofiore and the Piazza Farnese, belonging to this splendid period, which so boldly entered the lists with antiquity. It was a period of emulation, genius, fertility, universal prosperity. As the population increased, buildings arose on the Campo Marzo and around the mausoleum of Augustus. Under Leo, they continued to increase ; Julius having already constructed the Lungara on the south side, opposite to the Strada Giulia on the north. The inscription is yet visible

* *Opusculum de Mirabilibus novæ et veteris Urbis Romæ*, editum a Francisco Albertino, 1515 ; especially the second part, *De novâ urbe*.

in which the Conservatori boast that he had laid down and opened new streets, "suitable to the majesty of his newly acquired sovereignty."

The population was again reduced by pestilence and by conquest; and the city again injured, during the troubles under Paul IV.; it was not till a later period that it began once more to revive, and that the number of its inhabitants increased, together with the renewed obedience of the catholic world.

Pius IV. had conceived the project of building again on the deserted hills. He founded the palace of the Conservatori on the Monte Capitolino; on the Viminale, Michael Angelo constructed, by his order, the church of *S^{ta} Maria degli Angeli*, out of the ruins of the baths of Dioclesian; the *Porta Pia* on the Quirinale still bears his mark.* Gregory XIII. also added to this quarter.

These were however but vain labours, so long as the hills were without water.

It is the distinguishing glory of Sixtus V., that he resolved to emulate the ancient Cæsars, and to supply the city with water by means of colossal aqueducts. "He did it," as he said, "in order that these hills, which, even in early Christian times, were graced with basilicas, distinguished for the salubrity of the air, the pleasantness of the situa-

* Luigi Contarini, *Antichità di Roma*, p. 76, praises above all the exertions of Pius IV.: "*S' egli viveva ancora 4 anni, Roma sarebbe d' edifici un'altra Roma.*"

tion, and the beauty of the views, might be once more inhabited. We have, therefore," adds he, "suffered ourselves to be deterred by no difficulty or expense." In fact, he told the architects from the very beginning, that he would have a work which might compete with the magnificence of imperial Rome. For a distance of two and twenty miles from the Agro Colonna, in despite of all obstacles, he conducted the *Acqua Martia*, partly underground, partly on lofty arches, to Rome. At length the pope had the lively satisfaction of seeing a stream of this water flow into his own vineyard; he carried it onward to Santa Susanna on the Quirinale, calling it, after his own name, *Acqua Felice*; and it was with no slight self-complacency that he erected a statue of Moses striking the rock.* This aqueduct was a work of the greatest utility, not only to that district but to the whole city. The *Acqua Felice* gives 20,537 cubic mètres of water in twenty-four hours, and feeds twenty-seven fountains.

The buildings on the heights now proceeded with great activity, which Sixtus stimulated by the inducement of peculiar privileges. He levelled the ground around *Trinità de' Monti*, and laid the foundations of the flight of steps to the *Piazza di Spagna*, which forms the shortest communication

* Tasso has written "*Stanze all' Acqua Felice di Roma*," (*Rime*, ii. 311,) describing how the water first flows on in a dark course, and then joyfully emerges into the light of the sun, to behold Rome such as Augustus beheld it.

between that height and the lower city.* Here he laid out Via Felice and Borgo Felice, and opened the ways which still lead in all directions to Santa Maria Maggiore; intending to connect all the basilicas with that church by spacious streets. The poets assert that Rome nearly doubled her size, and sought again her old abodes.

Nor were these constructions on the heights the only works by which Sixtus V. was distinguished from his predecessors. He entertained designs which were directly contrary to those of the earlier popes.

Under Leo X., the ruins of ancient Rome were regarded with a kind of religious veneration; in them the divine spark of the antique spirit was recognised with a sort of rapture. That pope listened to the recommendation, to preserve "those things which are all that remain of the ancient mother of the glory and the greatness of Italy."†

* Gualterius: "Ut viam a frequentioribus urbis locis per Pincium collem ad Exquilias commodè strueret, Pincium ipsum collem ante Sanctissimæ Trinitatis templum humiliorem fecit et carpentis rhedisque pervium reddidit, scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portæ latere commodas perpulerasque admodum extruxit, e quibus jucundissimus in totam urbem prospectus est." (App. No. 53.)

† Extract from the well-known Letter from Castiglione to Leo X. *Lettere di Castiglione*; Padova, 1796, p. 149. I can find nothing in this letter of a project for a systematic excavation of the ancient city. It appears to me evident that it is the preface to a description of Rome, with a plan, to both of which reference is continually made in it. It is highly probable that the works of Raffaëlle himself were to be introduced with this preface; this appears to me the more probable from the coin-

The spirit in which this recommendation was made or received was distant as pole from pole from that which actuated Sixtus V. The Franciscan had no sense which could apprehend the beauty of the remains of antiquity. The Septizonium of Severus, a most remarkable work, which had survived the storms of so many centuries, found no favour in his eyes. He utterly demolished it, and transported some of its pillars to St. Peter's.* He was as rash and reckless in destroying, as he was zealous in building, and it was universally feared that he would observe no moderation in either. Let us listen to what the cardinal of Santa Severina relates; it would be incredible, if we had it not from an eye-witness. "As people saw," says he, "that this pope was fully bent on the destruction of the antiquities of Rome, a number of Roman nobles

cidence of several expressions in the well-known epigram on Raffaele's death, with others in this letter, e. g. "*vedendo quasi il cadavere di quella nobil patria così miseramente lacerato;*"—"*urbis lacerum ferro igni annisque cadaver ad vitam revocas.*" This, it is true, betokens a restoration, but only in imagination and description. This opinion does not run counter to the views hitherto set forth; on the contrary, it serves only to determine them more accurately. We may infer that the work which occupied the end of Raffaele's life was tolerably far advanced, as a dedication of it was already written in his name. What a name to add to the number of stylographers! The papers and plans may have fallen into the hands of Fulvius, who, in all probability, took a considerable part in the researches.

* Gualterius: *Præcipue Severi Septizonii, quod incredibili Romanorum dolore demoliendum curavit, columnis marmoreisque usus est, passimque per urbem caveæ videbantur unde lapides omnis generis effodiebantur.*" (App. No. 53.)

came to me one day, and entreated me to do all in my power to dissuade his holiness from so extravagant a thought." They addressed themselves to that cardinal who was then unquestionably esteemed the greatest zealot. Cardinal Colonna supported their petition. The pope answered that he would clear away the ugly antiquities, but would restore the others which stood in need of restoration. Will it be believed, which he thought ugly? The tomb of Cæcilia Metella, even then the only considerable vestige of republican times, an admirable, sublime monument, he had doomed to utter demolition. What may he not have destroyed!

He could hardly bring himself to endure the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican; nor would he even suffer the statues with which the citizens of ancient Rome had adorned the capitol to remain there; he declared that he would pull down the capitol if they were not removed. They were, Jupiter Tonans between Apollo and Minerva, of which the two former were in fact removed; the Minerva alone was suffered to remain, but under the character which Sixtus chose to impose upon her, viz. that of Christian Rome. He took away her spear, and substituted for it an enormous cross.*

In the same spirit, he restored the pillars of Trajan and Antonine; from the former he caused the urn to be taken away, which was said to contain the ashes of the emperor; this he dedicated to the

* Passage from the "*Vita Sixti V., ipsius manu emendata*," printed in Bunsen's *Description of Rome*, i. p. 702.

apostle Peter, and the other to the apostle Paul; and from that time the statues of the two apostles have stood opposite to each other on this airy height, overtopping the houses. Sixtus imagined that he thus gave a triumph to the christian faith over paganism.*

His intense anxiety concerning the erection of the obelisk in the front of St. Peter's, was caused by his wish to see the monuments of impiety subjected to the cross, on the very spot where once the Christians suffered the death of the cross.† There was grandeur in the project; but his execution of it was highly characteristic,—a mixture of violence, greatness, pomp, and fanaticism. He threatened the architect, Domenico Fontana, who had worked his way up under his eye from a mason's boy, with punishment, if the scheme miscarried, or if the obelisk sustained any damage. It was a work of the utmost difficulty,—to raise it from its base near the sacristy of the old church of St. Peter, to remove it entire, and to fix it on a new site.

All engaged in it seemed inspired with the feeling that they were undertaking a work which would be renowned through all ages. The workmen, nine

* So at least thinks, amongst others, J. P. Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII*, lib. i. p. 5.

† Vita Sixti V., I. M. E.: "Ut ubi grassatum olim suppliciiis in Christianos et passim fixæ cruces, in quas innoxia natio sublata teterrimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruci et in crucis versa honorem cultumque ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur." (App. No. 50.)

hundred in number, began by hearing mass, confessing, and receiving the communion. They then entered the space which had been marked out for the scene of their labours by a fence or railing. The master placed himself on an elevated seat. The obelisk was covered with matting and boards, bound round it with strong iron hoops; thirty-five windlasses were to set in motion the monstrous machine, which was to raise it up with strong ropes; each windlass was worked by two horses and ten men. At length a trumpet gave the signal. The very first turn took excellent effect; the obelisk was heaved from the base on which it had rested for fifteen hundred years; at the twelfth, it was raised two palms and three quarters, and remained steady; the master saw the huge mass, weighing, with its casings, above a million of Roman pounds, in his power. It was carefully noted, that this took place on the 30th of April, 1586, about the twentieth hour (about three in the afternoon). A signal was fired from fort St. Angelo, all the bells in the city rang, and the workmen carried their master in triumph around the inclosure, with incessant shouts and acclamations.

Seven days afterwards the obelisk was let down in the same skilful manner, upon rollers, on which it was then conveyed to its new destination. It was not till after the termination of the hot months, that they ventured to proceed to its re-erection.

The pope chose for this undertaking the 10th of September, a Wednesday, which he had always found to be a fortunate day, and the last before the

feast of the Elevation of the Cross, to which the obelisk was to be dedicated. On this occasion, as before, the workmen began by recommending themselves to God; they fell on their knees as soon as they entered the inclosure. Fontana had not omitted to profit by the suggestions contained in a description by Ammianus Marcellinus of the last raising of an obelisk, and had likewise provided the power of one hundred and forty horses. It was esteemed a peculiar good fortune that the sky was covered on that day. Everything went well: the obelisk was moved by three great efforts, and an hour before sunset it sank upon its pedestal on the backs of the four bronze lions which appear to support it. The exultation of the people was indescribable and the satisfaction of the pope complete; for the work which so many of his predecessors had desired to execute, which so many writers had recommended, he had now accomplished. He remarked in his diary, that he had succeeded in the greatest and most difficult enterprise which the mind of man could imagine. He caused medals commemorating it to be struck; received congratulatory poems in every language, and sent formal announcements of it to all potentates.*

* The *Dispacci* of Gritti, from 3—10 Maggio, 12 Luglio, 11 Ottobre, speak of this undertaking. The "*Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata*," well describes the effect: "*Tenuitque universæ civitatis oculos novæ et post 1500 amplius annos relatæ rei spectaculo, cum aut sedibus suis avulsam tolleret molem, uno tempore et duodenis vectibus impulsam et quinis tricenis ergatis quas equi bini homines deni agebant in sublime elatam, aut cum suspensam inde sensim deponeret extenderetque humi junctis*

He affixed a strange inscription, boasting that he had wrested this monument from the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and consecrated it to the Holy Cross; in sign of which he caused a cross to be placed upon it, in which was inclosed a supposed piece of the wood of the true cross.

This transaction is a complete expression of his character and tone of thought. Even the monuments of paganism were compelled to minister to the glorification of the cross.

He devoted himself with his whole soul to his projects of building: to the shepherd boy, brought up in the midst of fields and gardens, the city had peculiar attractions; he would never hear of a villeggiatura, and replied to every proposal of the kind, that "his recreation and delight was to see abundance of roofs."

He kept thousands of hands constantly employed; nor did any difficulty deter him from an undertaking.

The cupola of St. Peter's was still wanting, and the builders required ten years for its completion. Sixtus was willing to furnish money for this purpose, but on condition that he might feast his eyes on the perfect work. He set six hundred men to work, and allowed no intermission, day or night:

trabibus atque ex his ingenti composita traha quæ jacentem exciperet, aut cum suppositis cylindris (sunt hæ lignæ columnæ teretes et volubiles) quaternis ergatis protracta paulatim per editum et ad altitudinem basis cui imponenda erat excitatum aggerem atque undique egregie munitum incederet, denique cum iterum erecta librataque suis reposita sedibus est."

in two-and-twenty months it was finished; the leaden covering to the roof was the only part that he did not live to see.

But even in works of this kind, he set no bounds to his headstrong and impetuous will. He demolished without remorse those remains of the papal Patriarchium, near the Lateran, which were by no means inconsiderable or mean, and were, moreover, singularly interesting—antiquities connected with the dignity which he himself enjoyed,—in order to erect in their place his palace of the Lateran, which was not at all wanted, and which excites a very equivocal interest, solely as being one of the first specimens of the uniform regularity of modern architecture.

So entirely were the relations changed in which the existing generation stood to antiquity. A preceding age had emulated the ancients, and so did that which we are now contemplating; but the former had sought to rival them in grace and beauty of form; the present, to equal or surpass them in massive construction. Formerly, any trace of the antique spirit was revered in the smallest remains; now, it seemed to be the object to obliterate these traces. The men of this age followed one exclusive and omnipotent idea, and recognised no other. It was the same which had gained dominion in the church; the same which had made the state the organ of the church. This idea, which characterized modern catholicism, now pervaded every vein of the social body, and flowed in the most various directions.

§ 9. GENERAL CHANGE IN THE INTELLECTUAL
TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the influence of the spirit we have just contemplated was confined to the pope. In every department of mind, in every portion of society, we discern, at the termination of this century, a tendency directly opposed to that which marked its commencement.

One of the strongest indications of this change is, that the study of the ancients, which in the former period had been the source and spring of all knowledge, had now fallen into complete neglect. It is true that another Aldus Manutius appeared at Rome, and that he was professor of eloquence; but neither his Greek nor his Latin could win admirers. At the hours of his lectures he was seen pacing up and down before the portal of the university, with one or two hearers, from whom alone he found any sympathy in his pursuits. What vast progress did the study of the Greek language and literature make in the beginning of the century!—and at the conclusion of it, Italy did not possess a single Hellenist of note.

It is not my intention to represent this change entirely as a symptom of decline: in a certain sense, it is connected with the inevitable progress of scientific discovery.

For though all science had formerly been drawn directly from the ancients, this was now no longer possible. On the one hand, the materials had enormously accumulated. What a totally different knowledge of natural history, for example, was acquired by Ulisse Aldrovandi, during the labours of a long life and extensive travel, from that which any ancient could possess ! He collected a museum which he endeavoured to render complete ; wherever the natural object was wanting, he filled its place with a drawing, and attached to every specimen an elaborate description. The field of geography had also received an extension far beyond the widest imaginations of the ancient world.

On the other hand, a deep and searching spirit of investigation had arisen. The mathematicians sought at first only to fill up the chasms left by the ancients. (Commandino, for example, thought he discovered that Archimedes must have either read or written something concerning the centre of gravity, which, consequently, must have been lost ; and this idea caused him to investigate the subject itself.) But this very process led to far more extensive results ; those who began their inquiries under the conduct of the ancients, emancipated themselves from their authority ; discoveries were made beyond the limits which they had prescribed, and these again opened a way to further researches.

The study of nature especially was pursued with equal ardour and independence of mind. There was a momentary vacillation between an acquiescence

in the mystery in which nature veils all her works and a courageous, searching investigation of phenomena. But the latter, the scientific tendency, was soon victorious. An attempt was already made to divide the vegetable world according to a rational system; whilst Padua boasted a professor who was called the Columbus of the human body. Inquiries were more and more extended and active, and science was no longer limited to the regions explored by antiquity.

It followed—if I mistake not, by necessary consequence,—that as the antique was no longer studied with the same veneration and faith with reference to matter, it could no longer have the same influence with reference to form, which it had hitherto exercised.

Works of erudition began to be valued mainly in proportion to the accumulation of materials. In the beginning of the century, Cortesius had given to the world the essential part of the scholastic philosophy—inapplicable as that was to the wants of the age—in a well-written classical work, full of talent and wit; now, Natale Conte manufactured a tedious uninviting quarto out of that antique material, the fit handling of which would have called forth all the resources of genius and imagination,—mythology. The same author likewise wrote a history; yet though the sentences with which his book is adorned are almost all taken immediately from the ancients, and the passages from which they are extracted are cited, he makes no approach to a lively and characteristic representation of antiquity.

It seemed enough for his cotemporaries to heap together masses of facts. It may safely be affirmed, that a work like the *Annals of Baronius*, so utterly devoid of all attempt at form, written in Latin, but without a trace of elegance even in the detached phrases, was a thing that could not have entered the minds of men in the beginning of the century.

Whilst the track of the ancients was thus deserted, not only in scientific inquiries, but still more in form and expression, changes took place in the vital condition of the nation, which exercised an incalculable influence on all literary and artistical pursuits.

Republican, independent Italy, on whose peculiar circumstances the earlier development of the genius of her sons depended, fell for ever. The freedom and simplicity of the intellectual commonwealth utterly vanished. It is worthy of note, that titles were then introduced: as early as the year 1520 some persons remarked with disgust that every man wanted to be called 'sir;' a degeneracy of taste which was ascribed to Spanish influence. About the year 1550 ponderous epithets of honour already encumbered and oppressed the simple address by speech and letter hitherto in use. Towards the end of the century the titles of 'duca' and 'marchese' became prevalent; everybody wanted them; everybody would be 'excellency.' It is easy to say that this love of trivialities has no great significance; but its influence is still felt, long after the state of things which occasions it is obsolete; how much more when it was new! In every other

respect, also, society became stricter, stiffer, more exclusive: the gay ease of earlier manners, the simple frankness of mutual intercourse, were gone for ever.

Be the cause what it may—whether it be a change founded in the nature of the human mind,—thus much is manifest, that all productions, even towards the middle of the century, are pervaded by a new spirit; that society, in its living and positive forms, had new wants.

Of all the phenomena which mark this change, perhaps the most striking is the recast of Bojardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, by Berni. It is the same work, and yet a totally different one. All the charm, all the freshness of the original poem, are obliterated. On a deeper observation, we find that the author has everywhere substituted the universal for the individual; the sort of conventional decorum required by Italian society, both then and now, for the unconstrained, careless expression of a lovely and living nature.* He exactly hit the public taste; his poem was received with incredible approbation, and the parasitic work, thus remodelled, has entirely superseded the original. How rapidly too had this transformation become complete! Not fifty years had elapsed since the publication of the first edition.

We may follow this altered key-note, these indications of a new spirit, through most of the productions of that time.

* I have attempted to carry this out more in detail in the before-mentioned *Academical Treatise*.

It is not entirely want of talent which renders the great poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso uninteresting and tedious (the latter especially). Their very conception is cold. In conformity with the tastes and demands of a public which, though assuredly not very virtuous, was become sedate and decorous, they selected irreproachable heroes. Bernardo chose Amadis, of whom Torquato Tasso says, "Dante would have retracted the unfavourable judgment he expresses concerning the romances of chivalry, if he had known the Amadis of Gaul or of Greece; so full are their characters of nobleness and constancy." Alamanni took for his subject Giron le Courtoys, the mirror of all knightly virtues. His avowed object was to show youth by this example, how to endure hunger and watchings, cold and heat; how to bear arms, to show justice and mercy to all, and to forgive enemies. As they proceeded in the manner of Berni with this moral and didactic aim, and designedly stripped their fables of the poetical groundwork they possessed, it followed that their works were feeble, dry, and diffuse.

It appeared, so to speak, as if the nation had used up the stock of poetical conceptions and images which had sprung out of her past history, and out of the ideas of the middle ages; as if she no longer possessed even the power of understanding them. She sought something new. But neither would creative genius arise, nor did society furnish any fresh and unwrought material. Up to the middle of the century, Italian prose, though, in accordance with its

nature, didactic, was yet spirited, warm, pliant, and graceful. Gradually prose too became stiff and cold.

Art shared the fate of poetry. She lost the inspiration which had suggested her religious subjects, and, soon after, that which had animated her profane works. Some traces of it remained in the Venetian school alone; Raffaelle's scholars, with one exception, were wholly degenerate. While they endeavoured to imitate him, they lost themselves in artificial beauty, theatrical attitudes, affected graces; and their works bear sufficient evidence of the total want of warmth, or sense of beauty, in the soul which conceived them. The scholars of Michael Angelo did no better. Art had lost all comprehension of her object; she had discarded the ideas which she had formerly taxed all her powers to clothe with form; she retained nothing but the externals of method.

In this state of things, when antiquity was deserted,—when it had ceased to furnish form to art, or to prescribe limits to science,—when, at the same time, the old national poetry and the religious mode of conception were scorned and rejected by literature and by art,—the resuscitation of the church began. It gained possession of men's minds, with their will or against it; it introduced an entire alteration in the whole domain and condition of art and of literature.

The influence of the church on science was, however, if I mistake not, completely different from that which she exercised over art.

Philosophy, and indeed science generally, passed through another very remarkable phase. After the

restoration of the genuine Aristotle, men began (as it happened in other branches, and with other writers of antiquity,) to emancipate themselves even from his authority in philosophy, and to advance to a free investigation of the highest problems that can engage the human mind. From the very nature of things, the church could not encourage this freedom of thought. She herself hastened to establish first principles, in a manner that might leave no room for doubt. But if the followers of Aristotle had frequently professed opinions at variance with the church and with revealed religion, something of the same kind was also to be feared from his opponents. They were resolved, as one of them expressed it, to compare the dogmas of former teachers with the original handwriting of God—with the world and the nature of things; an undertaking the consequences of which could not be foreseen or estimated, which must inevitably lead either to discoveries or to errors of very insidious tendency, and which therefore the church took care to thwart. Although Thelesius did not in fact extend his speculations above the sphere of physics, he was compelled to remain all his life in his small native town; Campanella lived a fugitive, and suffered torture; the deepest thinker of all, Giordano Bruno, a true philosopher, after many persecutions and long wanderings, was at length accused before the inquisition, “not only,” as the legal record declares, “as a heretic, but a heresiarch, who had written things unseemly concerning religion* ;” he

* In a Venetian MS. in the Archives at Vienna, under the head

was imprisoned, sent to Rome, and condemned to perish in the flames.

After such examples, who could have courage for free inquiry? Of all the innovators which this century produced, there was but one, Francesco Patrizi, who found favour at Rome. He too attacked Aristotle, though only on the ground that the doctrines of that philosopher were contrary to the church and to Christianity. He endeavoured to trace a genuine philosophical tradition (as opposed to the Aristotelic opinions,) from the pretended Hermes Tris-

“Roma, Espositioni, 1592, 28 Sett.,” is the original copy of a protocol concerning the delivering up of Giordano Bruno. The vicar of the patriarch, the father inquisitor, and the assistant of the inquisition, Tommaso Morosini, appeared before the college. The vicar asserted: “Li giorni passati esser stato ritenuto e tuttavia ritrovarsi nelle prigioni di questo città deputate al servizio del santo ufficio Giordano Bruno da Nola, imputato non solo di heretico, ma anche di heresiarca, havendo composto diversi libri, nei quali, laudando assai la regina d’Inghilterra et altri principi heretici, scriveva alcune cose concernenti il particular della religione che non convenivano sebene egli parlava filosoficamente, e che costui era apostata, essendo stato primo frate domenicano, che era vissuto molt’anni in Ginevra et Inghilterra, e che in Napoli et altri luoghi era stato inquisito della medesima imputatione: e che essendosi saputa a Roma la prigionia di costui, lo ill^{mo} Santa Severina supremo inquisitore haveva scritto e dato ordine che fusse inviato a Roma——con prima sicura occasione:” he further declared that such an opportunity now offered itself. They received no immediate answer. After dinner, the father inquisitor again appeared, and was very urgent, as the vessel was just on the point of departure. But the Savj answered: “che essendo la cosa di momento e consideratione e le occupationi di questo stato molte e gravi non si haveva per alhora potuto fare resolutione.” Accordingly the vessel sailed without the prisoner. I have not been able to discover whether he was eventually given up in consequence of fresh negotiations.

megistus, in whom he thought he found a clearer exposition of the Trinity than even in the Mosaical writings, down through all succeeding ages: this he sought to renovate, to restore, and to substitute for the Aristotelic philosophy. In all the dedications of his works, he insists on this project of his, and on the utility, the necessity, of its execution. He was a man of a singular turn of mind; not without critical power, but power displayed only in what he rejects, not in what he accepts. He was called to Rome, and maintained himself in high favour there, by those peculiarities in his opinions which were acceptable to the church, and by the tendency of his labours; not certainly by their influence, which was extremely small.

Researches in physics and natural history were at that time almost inextricably interwoven with speculations in philosophy. The whole system of previous and existing ideas was called in question. In fact, the Italians of that epoch manifested a grand tendency towards searching investigation, intrepid pursuit of truth, noble aspirations, and high prophetic visions of discovery. Who shall say whither this tendency would have led? But the church marked out a line which they were not to overstep;—woe to him who ventured to pass it.

But if, as it is impossible to doubt, the restoration of catholicism acted repressively on science, it had a contrary effect on art and poetry. They stood in need of a prolific material, of a living subject; and they found it once more in the church.

The example of Torquato Tasso is a striking

proof of the power which the regeneration of religion had acquired over the minds of men. His father had selected a morally faultless hero; Torquato went a step further. Another poet of that time had chosen the crusades for his subject, "because it is better to handle a true argument in a christian manner, than to seek a little christian renown in a fictitious one." Torquato Tasso did the same. He took his hero not from fable, but from history,—a christian hero. Godfrey is more than Æneas—he is like a saint, sated with the world and with its transitory glory. A poem exclusively devoted to the delineation of such a character would have been a very dry and insipid work, but Tasso instantly seized on the sentimental and enthusiastic part of religion, which harmonizes perfectly with the fairy world whose many-coloured threads he interwove in the web of his story. The poem is occasionally somewhat tedious, and the expression is not always thoroughly worked out; yet it is a poem full of fancy and of feeling, of national spirit and truth of character, by which Tasso has enchained the love and the admiration of his countrymen to this hour.

Yet what a contrast to Ariosto! Poetry had formerly fallen away from the church; religion, rising in new youth and vigour from her languor and weakness, now once more subjugated poetry to her empire.

At Bologna, not far from Ferrara, where Tasso composed his poem, arose, soon after, the school of the Caracci, whose rise marks a general change in the state of painting.

If we inquire what were the causes of this change, we are referred to the anatomical studies of the Bolognese academy, their eclectic imitation, and their learned style of art. And undoubtedly the zeal with which they laboured, in their manner, to approach the appearances of nature, is a great merit. But what were the tasks which they proposed to themselves, and what the spirit in which they addressed themselves to their accomplishment, seem to me a consideration of at least equal importance.

Ludovico Caracci employed himself much in embodying the ideal of Christ; in some instances, as in his picture of the calling of Matthew, he is successful in producing a representation of the mild and serious man, full of truth and fervour, of benignity and majesty, which has so often served as a model to succeeding painters. It is true he imitates elder masters, but the manner in which he does this is characteristic of his turn of mind. He evidently has Raffaello's Transfiguration before his eyes; but even while he appropriates it, he makes Christ raise his hand towards Moses, as if in act to teach. The masterpiece of Agostino Caracci is unquestionably his St. Jerome. The aged saint is represented in the arms of death, motionless; his last breath is a fervent aspiration after the host, which the ministering priest is bringing him. Annibal's *Ecce Homo*, of the Borghese palace, with its deep shadows, its delicate transparent skin, and its flowing tears, is Ludovico's ideal, but elevated to a higher pitch of sublimity. There is admirable grandeur and freshness of conception, even in the rigidity of death, in the *Pietà*,

a work in which the tremendous and tragical event is conceived and expressed with a new feeling. In the lunettes at the Doria palace, the landscape is inspired with life by the simple expression of the human incidents of the sacred history.

We perceive, that although these masters did not reject profane subjects, they devoted themselves with great zeal to sacred ones. It is not therefore so much their outward and technical merits which entitle them to the rank they hold among artists; the grand point will ever be, that they, like their great predecessors, were filled and animated by their subject; that the religious scenes which they bring before our senses, had once more some significancy to their own minds.

The same tendency distinguishes their pupils. Domenichino worked out the ideal of St. Jerome, of which Agostino Caracci was the author, with such felicitous industry, that he perhaps surpassed his master in variety of grouping and perfection of expression. His head of St. Nilus appears to me admirable, from its blended expression of suffering and reflection; his prophetesses are full of youth, innocence, and profound meditation. His favourite study was, to place the joys of heaven in contrast with the sufferings of earth; the most striking example of which is in the Madonna del Rosario, — the Divine Mother, full of grace, contrasted with a feeble and miserable mortal.

Occasionally Guido Reni, too, seizes this contrast, though perhaps only in the more obvious form of the Virgin glowing in immortal beauty,

opposed to some monkish saint, worn and attenuated with ascetic practices. Guido has freedom and originality of conception. How magnificent is his Judith, taken in the very feeling of the deed she has accomplished, and of the gratitude she owes to Heaven for the aid she has received ! Who does not immediately recognise his ecstatic Madonnas, almost dissolved in rapture ? Even his saints are distinguished by that expression of sentimental reverie which was the peculiar ideal of his creation.

But we have not yet described all the characteristics of the dominant tendency of the age ; it has another and a less attractive side. The conceptions of these painters are sometimes fantastic and incongruous. For example, we find a St. John ceremoniously kissing the foot of the infant Jesus, introduced into the beautiful group of the Holy Family ; or the apostles coming apparently to condole with the Virgin, and preparing to wipe away their tears. How often, too, is the horrible delineated, without the least attempt to soften its repulsive aspect ! In the St. Agnes of Domenichino, we see the blood start from beneath the sword. Guido conceived the murder of the Innocents in its naked atrocity and terror ; the women have all their mouths open, screaming, while the savage soldiers are in the act of butchering the defenceless infants.

In the age we are now contemplating, art is once more become religious, as she was in earlier times, but her inspirations are of a widely different character. Elder art was simple, true, pure ; in this age she had something forced and fantastic.

No one will refuse admiration to the talents of Guercino; but what a St. John is that in the Sciarra gallery, with large muscular arms, colossal bare knees, and an expression of gloomy inspiration, which leaves the spectator in doubt whether it be of a heavenly or an earthly nature! His St. Thomas lays his hand with so rude a touch on the wounds in the side of Christ, that we shrink back with a feeling of pain. Guercino represents Peter Martyr precisely at the very moment in which the sword enters his head. There is a picture by this artist of St. Bernard investing a duke of Aquitaine with the cowl, while a monk by his side is labouring at the conversion of one of the duke's squires: we thus find ourselves consigned to a premeditated scene of devotion, from which there is no escape.

We shall not here go into the inquiry how far the bounds of art were overpassed by this treatment of subjects,—sometimes fantastically ideal, sometimes hard and unnatural; it is sufficient if we remark, that the church obtained entire dominion over restored painting. She infused new life into art by the breath of poetry and by the principles of a positive religion; but she imparted to it at the same time an ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and dogmatical character.

This she effected with still greater ease in architecture, which was her more immediate handmaid. I do not know if any one has traced the progress of modern architecture, from the imitation of the antique, to the canon invented by Barozzi for the construction of churches, which has been adhered

to ever since in Rome, and throughout the catholic world. The lightness and genial freedom which marked the beginning of the century were transmuted, in this, as in the sister arts, into solemnity, and pomp, and religious magnificence.

With regard to one art alone, it was long doubtful whether it would lend itself entirely to the purposes of the church or not.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, music had lost herself in the most intricate artificiality. The reputation of a composer rested entirely on arbitrary and difficult tricks, while the meaning of the words was wholly disregarded: there are a great number of masses of that period, which were little else than variations on themes of some well known profane airs; the human voice was treated as a mere instrument.* No wonder if the council of Trent was scandalized at the performance of such music in the churches. In consequence of its discussions, Pius IV. nominated a commission to advise upon the question, whether music was to be permitted in the churches or not. The decision was very doubtful. The church required distinctness of the words, and adaptation of the musical expression to them. The musicians affirmed that this was not to be attained according to the rules of their art. Carlo Borromeo was in the commission, and a severe judgment was rendered very probable by the strict opinions of this great ecclesiastic.

* Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della Vita e delle Opere di Giovanni Pier-Luigi di Palestrina*, Roma, 1828, communicates the information of which I have made use.

Happily for art, the right man appeared at the critical moment.

Among the composers at that time in Rome was Pier-Luigi Palestrina. The rigour of Paul IV. had driven him out of the papal chapel because he was married; from that time he had lived, secluded and forgotten, in a miserable hut among the vineyards of Monte Celio. His was a spirit that adversity could not crush. Even in this solitude he devoted himself to his art with an enthusiasm which ensured to the creative power within him, freedom and originality of production. Here he wrote the 'Improperie,' which still yearly solemnize Good Friday in the Sistine chapel. Never, probably, had a composer a more exquisite appreciation of the profound sentiment of his text, of its symbolical meaning, its applicability to religion, its capacity for moving the soul.

If ever a man was competent to make the experiment, whether the method he had adopted could be applied to the more extended and complicated work of a mass, it was Palestrina; the commission intrusted it to him. He felt completely that it was an experiment on which depended the life or death of the grand music of the mass. He applied himself to his task with conscious tension of all his powers; on his manuscript were found the words, "Domine, illumina oculos meos!"

He did not immediately succeed; the two first attempts failed; but at length, in a happy moment, he completed that mass, known under the name of the mass of Pope Marcellus, which sur-

passed all expectation. Though full of simple melody, it may be compared in variety with any preceding masses. Choruses separate, and reunite; the meaning of the words is expressed with unrivalled force and accuracy; the Kyrie is submission; the Agnus, humility; the Credo, majesty. Pope Pius IV., before whom it was performed, was enraptured, and compared it to the heavenly melodies which the apostle John heard in his ecstatic trance.

By this one great example the question was now for ever set at rest. A path was opened, in following which the most beautiful works, the most touching, even to those who are not of the church, were produced. Who can hear them without enthusiasm? It is as if nature acquired tone and utterance; as if the elements spoke, and the voice of universal life broke forth in the spontaneous harmony of adoration; now undulating, like the waves of the sea—now mounting in songs of triumph to Heaven.

This art, which had perhaps been more completely alienated from the spirit and service of the church than any other, now became the most strongly attached to it. Nothing could be more important to catholicism. Even in its dogmas, it had, if we mistake not, caught somewhat of that spirit of enthusiastic reverie which pervades the most impressive penitential and devotional books. Spiritual sentimentality and rapture were the favourite themes of poetry and painting. Music, which speaks a language more direct, more impressive, more irre-

sistible, more adapted to ideal expression, than any other expositor or any other art, became the interpreter of these emotions, and thus subjugated all minds to her empire.

§ 10. THE CURIA.

WHILE all the elements of social life and of intellectual activity were thus penetrated and transformed by the ecclesiastical spirit, the court of Rome, which was the centre where all these elements met, was itself greatly changed.

Even under Paul IV., this change was perceptible; the example of Pius V. had an immense influence in accelerating its progress; and under Gregory XIII., it displayed itself in all its strength, and became obvious to every mind. "It has contributed infinitely to the advantage of the church," says Paolo Tiepolo, in the year 1576, "that several popes in succession have been men of irreproachable lives; hence all others are become better, or have at least assumed the appearance of being so. Cardinals and prelates attend mass punctually; their households are studious to avoid anything that can give scandal; the whole city has put off its old recklessness, and is become much more christian-like in life and manners than formerly. It may be affirmed, that Rome, in matters of religion, is not far from that degree of perfection which human nature can attain to."

We are not, however, to imagine that this court was composed of puritanical hypocrites. On the contrary, it consisted of distinguished men, but of men who had adopted sincerely and energetically the strict and orthodox opinions and sentiments described by Tiepolo.

If we bring before our view the court as it was in the time of Sixtus V., we shall find among the cardinals not a few who had taken a leading part in political affairs: Galliodi Como, who had conducted the government as prime minister under two pontificates, endowed with the talent of ruling by suppleness, and who now distinguished himself chiefly by the application of his great revenues to ecclesiastical endowments: Rusticucci, powerful even under Pius V., and not without great influence under Sixtus; a man of great industry, full of acuteness of mind and kindness of heart, but doubtless rendered the more circumspect and blameless in his manners by his hopes of the pontificate: Salviati, who had acquired a high reputation by his successful administration of the government of Bologna; irreproachable, simple, and not only serious, but severe in his life: Santorio, cardinal of Santa Severina, the man of the inquisition, long possessed of great and leading influence in all spiritual affairs; obstinate in his opinions, rigorous towards his servants, harsh and hard even to his kindred, much more so to others, inaccessible to all: contrasted with him, Madruzzi, always in the secret of the policy of the house of Austria, (both the Spanish and the German lines) who was called the Cato of the college; a

name however applicable only to his learning and spotless virtue, not to any censorious arrogance, for he was modesty itself. Sirleto was still living; of all the cardinals of his time unquestionably the most profoundly versed in science and in languages,—a living library, as Mureto calls him; yet who did not disdain, when he quitted his books, to call about him the poor boys who were carrying their fagots of wood to market, to instruct them in the mysteries of the faith, and then to buy their wood of them; a man of a most kindly and compassionate temper.*

The example of Carlo Borromeo had a great influence, and his memory was gradually exalted to the glories of canonization. Federigo Borromeo was by nature irritable and violent, but, taking his uncle as a model, he led a devout life, and did not allow the mortifications which he frequently experienced to impair his self-control. But he who presented the most faithful copy of the holy bishop of Milan, was Agostino Valiere,—a man of a nature as pure and noble as his erudition was rare; one who implicitly followed the dictates of his own conscience, and now, in his extreme old age, appeared the living type of a bishop of the primitive church.

The example of the cardinals was followed by the

* Ciaconius, *Vitæ Paparum*, iii. p. 978. This also contains Sirleto's epitaph, in which he is described as "eruditorum pauperumque patronus." In Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali*, we only find the notices contained in Ciaconius put into Italian.

rest of the prelates, who were their associates in the congregation, and their destined successors in the college.

Among the members of the supreme court, the ‘*auditori di rota*,’ two were peculiarly eminent, of entirely opposite characters: Mantica, who lived only amidst books and records, who served the forum and the schools by his jurisprudential works, and whose language was plain and abrupt; and Arigone, who gave his time to the world, the court, and business, rather than to books, and was remarkable for judgment and for pliancy of character; both however equally anxious to maintain a high reputation for purity and sanctity of life. Among the bishops about the court, the most remarkable were those who had exercised their talents as nuncios: Torres, who had taken a great share in the formation of the league of Pius V. against the Turks; Malaspina, who had watched over the interests of the catholic church in Germany and the north; Bolognetti, to whom the arduous visitation of the Venetian churches was committed: all indebted for their advancement to their talents for business, and their zeal for the faith.

Men of learning held a distinguished rank in the court: Bellarmine, professor, grammarian, and the greatest controversialist of the catholic church, who left behind him the reputation of an apostolic life; another Jesuit, Maffei, the author of the history of the Portuguese conquests in India, especially as they affected the diffusion of Christianity in the south and east, and also of a life of Loyola, written

with deliberate diffuseness and laboured elegance.* Sometimes there were also foreigners, as for example the German Clavius, who united profound science with innocence of life, and enjoyed universal respect; or Muret, a Frenchman, the best Latin scholar of his time, who, after having passed a great portion of his life in writing a commentary on the Pandects in an original and classical style—a work in which he showed equal wit and eloquence,—became a priest in his old age, devoted himself to theological studies, and said mass daily; or the Spanish canonist Azpilcueta, whose ‘*responsa*’ were regarded as oracles both at the court of Rome and throughout the whole catholic world, and who, at the very time when Pope Gregory XIII. was often seen to stop before his door for hours talking to him, disdained not to perform the lowest offices in the hospitals.

Among these remarkable personages, Filippo Neri, founder of the congregation of the Oratory, an eminent confessor and guardian of souls, acquired a profound and extensive influence. He was good-humoured, jocose, strict in essentials, indulgent in trifles; he never commanded,—he advised, or, perhaps, requested; he did not dissertate, he conversed; he possessed the acuteness necessary to distinguish the peculiar merit of every character. His Oratory grew out of visits which were paid to him by young men who regarded themselves as his disciples, and wished to live in his society,

* Vita J. P. Maffei, Serassio Auctore. In the edition of Maffei's Works; Berg. 1747.

The most celebrated among them is the annalist of the church, Cæsar Baronius; Filippo Neri perceived his talents, and persuaded him to give lectures on ecclesiastical history in the Oratory. Though, at first, he had no great inclination for this task*, Baronius prosecuted it for thirty years, and when created cardinal, constantly rose before day-light to labour at it. He regularly ate with all his household at one table, and suffered nothing but humility and piety to be seen around him. In the college, as well as in the oratory, his most intimate friend and associate was Tarugi, who had acquired great credit as a preacher and confessor, and was no less remarkable than Baronius for a blameless and godly life; they were happy in a friendship which ended only with their lives, and were buried side by side. A third disciple of San Filippo was Silvio Antoniano, who was indeed rather conspicuous for his love of liberal literature and of poetical composition; when, at a later period, a pope employed him to compose his briefs, he did it with unusual literary perfection. His manners were most gentle, modest, and affable; his whole character, kindness and piety.

All who rose to eminence in this court, whether in politics, administration, poetry, art, or learning, were imbued with the same spirit.

What a contrast to the curia in the beginning of the century, when the cardinals lived at open variance with the popes; when the popes girded on

* Gallonius, *Vita Phil. Nerii*; Mog. 1602; p. 163.

the sword, and kept at a distance from their court and from their daily life whatever could recall their christian duty and vocation! The cardinals now lived in a conventual quiet and decorum. The thing which mainly contributed to prevent cardinal Tosco's election to the papacy, which he was at one time very near obtaining, was, that he had a habit of using two or three Lombard proverbs which shocked the ears of the Romans. So exclusive, so sensitive, was public opinion.

But we must not conceal that, as in literature and art, so also in opinions and manners, another, and to our feelings, a less agreeable side of the picture, manifested itself. Miracles, which had not been seen for a long time, were revived. At San Silvestro an image of the Virgin began to speak, which made so universal an impression on the people, that the barren region around the church was soon covered with houses. In Rione de' Monti a miraculous image appeared in a hayrick, and the country people of those parts thought this so visible a mark of the favour of Heaven, that they took up arms to resist the attempt to remove it; we find similar appearances in Narni, Todi, San Severino, and gradually spreading from the States of the Church over the whole catholic world. The popes too resumed the practice of canonization, which they had long discontinued. Few confessors had the wisdom and discretion of Filippo Neri; empty and unprofitable works of sanctity were encouraged, and the representation of divine things was mixed with fantastic superstition.

Happy would it be could we cherish the conviction that this was accompanied in the minds of the many, with an entire obedience to the precepts of religion.

But the very nature and constitution of the court of Rome rendered it impossible that the most eager worldly competition should not be as active there as exertions in the cause of religion.

The curia was not merely an ecclesiastical institution; it had to rule a state, and, indirectly, to govern a great part of the world. In proportion as a man shared in the exercise of this power, he acquired consideration, fortune, influence, and all that excites the cupidity or stimulates the exertions of men. Human nature could not be so utterly changed as that the members of the court of Rome should aim at the acquisition of the great prizes of social and political life by spiritual means alone. The struggle for them here was in general the same as in other courts, only it was carried on with certain peculiarities of manner, generated by the nature and character of the arena.

Rome had at that time the most fluctuating population of any city in the world. Under Leo X., it had risen to more than 80,000 souls; while under Paul IV., whose inexorable severity put everybody to flight, it sank to 45,000; immediately after his death, it rose again in two or three years to 70,000; and in the reign of Sixtus V., to upwards of 100,000. The most remarkable thing was, that so great a number of residents were unconnected with the place or the population; it was rather a long sojourn

than a permanent citizenship. It might be compared to a fair or a diet,—an assemblage of people without stability or fixedness, without connecting ties of blood. Numbers repaired to Rome because they could find no road to preferment in their own country; one was driven thither by wounded pride, another by boundless ambition; while many thought they enjoyed more liberty there than elsewhere. Every man sought to rise in his own way.

But all these heterogeneous elements had not grown into one body; the races and countries were still so numerous and so distinct, that the peculiarities of national and provincial character were very discernible. The attentive, docile Lombard was easily distinguished from the Genoese, who thought he could accomplish everything by means of his money; or from the Venetian, eager in the discovery of other men's secrets. There was the frugal, loquacious Florentine; the Romagnese, who followed his own interest with inflexible perseverance and instinctive sagacity; the exacting and ceremonious Neapolitan. The men of the north were remarked for their simplicity and their taste for good living; even Clavius, the learned German, provoked the jests of his friends by his two plentiful breakfasts: the French held themselves apart, and relinquished their national customs with more difficulty than any others; while the Spaniard, wrapped in his *sottana* and his cloak, full of pretensions and ambitious schemes, looked down on all the rest with contempt.

There was nothing which the obscurest indivi-

dual of the throng might not aspire to. It was remembered with pleasure that John XXIII., when asked why he went to Rome, replied "that he meant to be pope;"—and he was pope. Pius V. and Sixtus V., too, had risen from the lowest station to the highest earthly dignity. Every man deemed himself capable of everything, and hoped for everything.

It was a common remark at that time, and it is perfectly true, that the prelacy and the curia had somewhat of a republican character. The resemblance consisted in this;—that all might pretend to all; that every day saw examples of men of mean extraction rising to the highest offices. But this republic was most strangely constituted; opposed to the rights of the many, was the absolute power of one, on whose will every favour, every advancement depended. And who was this one? It was he who, by a combination on which it was absolutely impossible to calculate, came out of the elective contest victorious. Hitherto of little importance, he suddenly came into possession of the fulness of power. He was the less tempted to deny his personal character or circumstances, since he had the persuasion that he was chosen to bear the highest dignity by the operation of the Holy Spirit. He generally began his reign by a thorough and radical change. All the legates, all the governors of provinces, were changed. In the capital there were places which fell, as matter of course, to the nepotes for the time being. If nepotism, as in the times we have just been considering, was kept in check,

yet every pope favoured his old friends and dependents; it was natural that he should not bear to be robbed of the society of those he had been accustomed to live with; the secretary who had so long served the cardinal Montalto, must of course be the most agreeable to pope Sixtus; it was natural that a pope should make those who shared his opinions, share also in his advancement. The accession of a new pope therefore caused a sort of revolution in all prospects and all expectations; in the road to power, and in ecclesiastical, as well as temporal, dignities.

“It is,” says Commendone, “as if the royal palace in a city were transplanted, and all the streets and ways leading to it altered. How many houses must be pulled down, how often must the road be cut through a palace, while new lanes and alleys begin to be inhabited and frequented!” This comparison not unaptly describes the violence of the changes, and the instability of all establishments at that time.

Hence necessarily arose a circumstance of the most singular kind.

As it frequently happened that the popes came to the throne at so much more advanced an age than other sovereigns; as a fresh change might take place at any moment, and power pass into other hands, people lived as it were in a perpetual game of chance; like that, the state of things was reducible to no calculation, and like that, it kept hope continually alive.

The promotion which every one anxiously desired, depended chiefly on personal favour; while the ex-

traordinary instability of all personal influence, compelled calculating ambition to assume a corresponding form, and to pursue most unusual paths.

Among the MS. collections at Berlin are a great number of directions for conduct at this court.* The various ways in which each man seeks his advancement and fortune, are a curious subject of observation. Human nature is susceptible of endless modifications; the more complex and difficult the relations in which it stands, the more unexpected are the forms which it assumes.

The same path was not open to all. He who possessed nothing, was compelled to adapt himself to the service of others. Literary men still lived in the houses of princes and cardinals as a sort of retainers. Those who were obliged to undertake such a situation, tried by every possible means to win the favour of their lord, to acquire some merit in his eyes, to insinuate themselves into his secrets, and to become indispensable to him. They submitted to every indignity, they endured injustice in silence;—for who could tell how soon the papacy might fall into new hands; how soon the star of their patron

* E. g. *Instruttione al signor cardinale de' Medici, del modo come si deve governare nella corte di Roma.*—*Avvertimenti all' ill^{mo} cardinal Montalto, sopra il modo col quale si possa e debba ben governare come cardinale e nepote del Papa:* Inform. xii. —*Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma;*—seventy-eight maxims of very dubious morality: Inform. xxv. The most important: “*Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di Mr Ill^{mo} Commendone:*” Codd. Rang., at Vienna; xviii. (App. No. 48.)

might be in the ascendant, and shed its lustre on his dependants? Fortune ebbs and flows; persons remain the same.

The aspirations of others perhaps were directed to some little employment, which, by dint of zeal and activity, might open the way to higher prospects. It was however a critical thing there, as in every other age and country, to be obliged to consider interest first, and honour after.

Those who had a competence were much more favourably situated. They derived a secure monthly income from the monti, in which they had shares; they bought a place, in virtue of which they immediately entered the prelacy, and not only gained an independent existence, but a field for the brilliant display of their talents. "He who hath, to him shall be given." In this court it was doubly advantageous to possess something, because this possession reverted to the camera, so that the pope himself had an interest in its increase.

In such a situation as this, there was not the same necessity for absolute and servile attachment to a great man; indeed, so open a partisanship, if not seconded by fortune, was likely to be injurious. The most important point was, to be watchful to offend nobody. This caution was intensely felt and carefully observed, in even the slightest and most superficial intercourses of life. Great care was taken, for example, not to pay any man more honour than he was exactly entitled to; equality of demeanor towards different persons would be inequality, and was likely to produce an evil impression. Even of the absent, nothing but good was

to be said ; not only because words once uttered are no longer in our power, and fly we know not whither, but also because very few love an acute observer. It is prudent to make but a moderate use or display of knowledge, and to abstain carefully from rendering it tedious to any one. It is expedient never to carry bad news ;—a part of the unpleasant impression recoils on the bearer : but, on the other hand, there is a difficulty to be shunned, viz. to observe so strict a silence as to render the motive evident.

Nor was the aspirant in any degree exempted from these observances by promotion,—not even to the rank of cardinal, which only imposed upon him a necessity for greater caution in his own sphere. For how could he dare to betray that he thought one of the sacred college less worthy than another of the tiara ? There was none so obscure or insignificant upon whom the choice might not fall.

A cardinal had above all to cultivate the favour of the reigning pope. Upon this depended fortune and dignity, universal respect and obsequiousness. He must however cultivate it with increased caution. He was to observe profound silence concerning the personal interests of the pope ; to spare no pains to penetrate to the bottom of them, and secretly to govern his conduct accordingly. The kinsmen of his holiness might occasionally be mentioned, their fidelity and their talents might be applauded,—this was generally a welcome topic. The secrets of the papal house were to be got at by means of monks, who, under the pretext of religion, penetrate further than could be imagined. The

influence and the rapid changes of personal relations, rendered it peculiarly imperative on ambassadors to exercise the most vigilant attention to all that passed. The diplomatic envoy, like a skilful pilot, observes from which quarter the wind blows; he spares no money to get good intelligence, and will esteem all his expenditure repaid by a single piece of information which may show him the seasonable moment for his negotiation. If he had a request to make to the pope, he endeavoured imperceptibly to interweave other interests of the holy see with the point he wanted to carry. Above all, he endeavoured to gain influence over some nephew or kinsman, and to persuade him that he could expect from no other court so much wealth and permanent greatness, as from that which he represented. He also tried to secure the good-will of the cardinals. He would promise the papacy to none; but flattered all with hopes. He would be devoted to none; but would occasionally do a favour, even to the most hostilely disposed. He was like the falconer who shows the piece of meat to the hawk, but gives it him only gradually and sparingly.

Such was the life, and such the policy of the court of Rome; of its cardinals, ambassadors, prelates, princes, ostensible and secret possessors of power; full of ceremony—of which Rome was the classic soil—of reverential observance, of submissiveness; but profoundly selfish, absorbed in the desire to attain, to achieve, to acquire.

Strange that the struggle for what all desire—power, honour, riches, pleasure, which elsewhere

engender animosity and feuds, here assumes the attitude of studious desire to serve ; how one man flatters in others the passions of which he is himself in a certain degree conscious, in order to arrive at the gratification of his own ; how abstinence is full of desire ; how passion glides warily to its object.

We saw the dignity, the seriousness, the religion, which prevailed in the court ; we now likewise see its worldly side,—ambition, avarice, dissimulation, and cunning.

If it were our intention to pronounce an eulogium on the court of Rome, we should bring to view only the former of the two elements which composed it ; if we wished to attack it, only the latter. But as soon as we rise to a clear and unprejudiced view of the whole subject, we come to the perception of both ; we see, indeed, that both are inevitable, from the nature of man and the situation of things.

The spirit and opinions which had been awakened throughout the world, and which we have been considering, rendered the demand for decorum, blamelessness, and piety more pressing than before ; this state of the public mind coincided with the principle of the court whose position, with regard to the rest of the world, is founded upon those qualities. It necessarily follows that those men rise to eminence and power whose characters are the most in conformity with this demand ; public opinion would not alone belie but destroy itself, did it not produce this effect. But that it should happen that the goods of fortune should be immediately connected with spiritual qualities, is one of the most

enormous allurements ever held forth by the spirit of this world.

We cannot doubt of the sincerity of the prevalent turn of thought, as our observant and acute informants not unfrequently represent it to us. But how many monks conformed to it in appearance for the sake of clutching fortune by simulated rigours! In a vast many others, the worldly tendencies are to be descried, struggling, in the obscurity of half developed motives, with the spiritual.

It was with the curia as with literature and art. There had been a general defection from the church, a general leaning towards sentiments approximating to paganism. The principal of the church was re-awakened by the general tenor of public opinion; it moved the powers of life as with a new breath, and gave a fresh colour to existence. What a difference between Ariosto and Tasso, Giulio Romano and Guercino, Pomponazzo and Patrizi! A vast epoch lies between them; yet they have something in common, and the chain of art descends from the earlier to the latter. The curia, too, preserved its ancient forms, and much of its ancient character. But this did not prevent it from being ruled by a new spirit. What it could not completely transform, and absorb into itself, it at least impelled with resistless force.

In contemplating the blending of the different elements, I have been reminded of a natural scene which may perhaps serve as an illustration and type of this state of things.

At Terni, the Nera winds between wood and meadow, in a tranquil, even stream, through the

distant valley. From the other side, the Velino, pent in between rocks, rushes on headlong, and at length falls in magnificent cascades, foaming and tinged with a thousand hues, from its heights: it reaches the Nera, and immediately communicates to it its own impetuosity. Brawling and foaming, the mingled waters roll on with rapid and hurrying course.

Thus did the newly awakened spirit of the catholic church give a fresh impulse to all the organs of literature and art,—nay to life itself. We behold the curia at once devout and restless, ecclesiastical and warlike; on the one side, full of dignity, pomp, and ceremony; on the other, unmatched in calculating prudence, in insatiable love of domination. Its piety and its ambition, both resting on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy, coincide. Thus constituted, it once more makes an effort to subdue the world.

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